

A STUDY OF THE DRAMATIC POEMS OF THE PANJI CYCLE  
IN THAILAND

Thesis submitted for the Ph.D. degree of  
the University of London, by

Miss KHOMKHAI NILPRAPASSORN

School of Oriental and African Studies

August 1966.

ProQuest Number: 10752596

All rights reserved

INFORMATION TO ALL USERS

The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.



ProQuest 10752596

Published by ProQuest LLC (2018). Copyright of the Dissertation is held by the Author.

All rights reserved.

This work is protected against unauthorized copying under Title 17, United States Code  
Microform Edition © ProQuest LLC.

ProQuest LLC.  
789 East Eisenhower Parkway  
P.O. Box 1346  
Ann Arbor, MI 48106 – 1346

## ABSTRACT

Despite the important pioneer work of H.R.H. Prince Damrong Rajanubhab and H.H. Prince Dhani Nivat, Kromamün Bidyalabh Bridhyakorn, no fully detailed descriptive study of the Thai versions of dramatic poems deriving from the Malay-Javanese Panji cycle has been made. The aim of this thesis is to provide such a descriptive study based chiefly on the printed texts of the two major poems in the Thai tradition, Dālang and Inao, and with reference to surviving manuscript items which have been available to the author in Bangkok and London. Thai translations of certain Malay texts belonging to the Panji tradition have also been taken into account.

The thesis consists of eight chapters and five appendixes.

#### The Chapters.

Chapter 1 deals with the origin of the Thai versions according to traditional evidence and presents historical evidence on their development.

Chapter 2 relates the history of the texts with comparative references to manuscript and printed texts.

In Chapter 3, the overall structure of the complex poems Dālang and Inao is analysed, and the fundamental

variations are set out and related to the Malay versions as known in Thailand.

Chapters 4 and 5 present the content of the poems in terms of setting and major aspects of treatment.

Poetic techniques are examined in Chapters 6 and 7. Chapter 6 presents an analysis of the versification, and Chapter 7 examines poetic diction.

Chapter 8 contains a concluding general statement on the subject of court drama.

#### The Appendixes.

Appendix 1 sets out the lexical variants, not involving structural rhyme, between the Somdet Phra Rācha Pitulā manuscript and the printed text of Dālang.

Appendix 2 sets out the lexical variants involving structural rhyme between the above two texts.

Appendix 3 provides comparative tables of lexical variants existing between the India Office Library manuscript and the printed text of Inao.

Appendix 4 lists the epithets used in the Dālang and Inao printed texts.

Appendix 5 is a glossary of Malay-Javanese terms used in the poems.



## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The encouragement and unfailing help which my supervisor, Mr. E.H.S. Simmonds, has given me throughout my work and the interest he has shown in my thesis have been invaluable. I am greatly indebted to him.

I am grateful to the Librarian of the National Library, Bangkok, the Librarian of the India Office Library, London and the Director of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland for permission to examine manuscripts in the possession of their libraries.

I am also grateful to the Governing Body of the School of Oriental and African Studies for granting me a Studentship which has enabled me to carry out the present work.

## CONTENTS

	Page
Abstract . . . . .	iii
Acknowledgements . . . . .	v
Chapter	
I. The Background and Environment of the Poems.	1
II. History of the Texts . . . . .	37
III. The Overall D.-I. Structure and Fundamental Variations . . . . .	60
IV. The Physical Setting . . . . .	98
V. Aspects of Treatment . . . . .	140
VI. Versification . . . . .	170
VII. Poetic Diction . . . . .	198
VIII. Concluding Statement . . . . .	262
Appendix	
1. Minor Lexical Variants Between the Somdet Phra Rācha Pitulā Manuscript and the Printed Text of Dālang . . . . .	273
2. Lexical Variants Involving the Structural Rhyme Between the Somdet Phra Rācha Pitulā Manuscript and the Printed Text of Dālang . . . . .	276
3. Lexical Variants Between the India Office Library Manuscript and the Printed Text of Inao . . . . .	277
4. The Epithets Used in the Dālang and Inao Printed Texts . . . . .	289

5. The Malay-Javanese Terms Used in Dālang and Inao . . . . .	345
Bibliography . . . . .	350

## CHAPTER I

### THE BACKGROUND AND ENVIRONMENT OF THE POEMS

Of all the poems ever composed for Thai dance-drama, Inao by Phra Bāt Somdet Phra Phuttha Loet Lā Naphālai (King Rama II, 1809-24 A.D.) and his court poets is the most excellent in both theatrical and literary aspects. Its fascinating story, dealing with the love and adventures of a hero-king of ancient Java, has been well known among the Thai since the Ayuthaya period. (1)

The original source of Inao is the Panji cycle which gained popularity in Java and the Malay Peninsula long before being introduced into the Thai kingdom. The tradition is that these tales existed in Ayuthaya about the middle of the eighteenth century, yet the extant Thai versions based on the Panji cycle date only from the first reign (1782-1809) of the Ratanakosin period. They are assumed to derive from the Ayuthaya versions which have not survived. (2)

There are two diverse stories of Inao in the dramatic poems, simply called Inao Yai (greater Inao) and

---

(1) The transcription used in the body of the text is that of the general system of the Royal Institute of Thailand, with the use of a macron to mark long vowels in contrast to short. Common place-names and personal names, especially those of authors and critics cited, have been transcribed according to accepted usage and not necessarily systematically.

(2) They are entitled 'Dālang' and 'Inao'.

Inao Lek (lesser Inao). According to tradition, they refer to the separate works of two daughters of Somdet Phra Čhao Bōromakōt.<sup>(1)</sup> The Princesses had Malay maids who narrated different tales from the Panji cycle to them. Being inspired by the recitals, Princess Kunthon, the elder, composed Dālang while Princess Mongkut, the younger, composed Inao as dance-drama texts. Though the contents differed, they dealt with the same hero - Inao; in consequence, Dālang was called Inao Yai signifying the work of the elder princess, and Inao was called Inao Lek signifying the work of the younger.

Similarly, Dr. Adolf Bastian mentioned that "Inao was brought to Krung Kao (Ayuthia) by Yaiyavo, a Muslim woman, and there it was translated by the Prince Chao Kasat-kri from the language of the Khek Xava into Siamese in order to be adapted for the stage."<sup>(2)</sup> Though Dālang is not taken into account here, and there is a misinterpretation of the word 'Chao Kasat-kri' (or 'Čhao Kasattri' if correctly pronounced) by making the name refer to a male person, this passage comes to the same conclusion as the above tradition and also agrees with the epilogue to King Rama II's version which runs as follows:

---

(1) It is orally reported from generation to generation. See: H.R.H. Prince Damrong Rajanubhab, Tamnān Ru'ang Lakhōn Inao, Bangkok, 1921, pp. 81-82.

(2) Adolf Bastian, Die Voelker des Oestlichen Asien, Vol. IV, Jena, 1868, p. 345.

In the Krung Kao period, Inao was composed by Chao Sattri (a princess), but that original version got scattered and lost. Then His Majesty the King wanted the story to be played and the poem to be revised and completed as a delight to all citizens. (1)

A significant reference to our subject occurs in an eighteenth century poem, where a court drama is mentioned as presenting the episode of the abduction of Busbā:

They sing about the prince who succeeds  
In abducting Busbā, his betrothed.  
He takes her to a cave in a mountain. (2)

This incident occurs in Inao but not in Dālang and is an indication, however slight, of the existence of an Inao-type drama in the Krung Kao period.

(3)

Thai dance-drama, which the Thai call 'Lakhōn', has a rather obscure background. We find no trace of such performance in the Sukhothai period. Music, singing, candle-burning and fire-works were mentioned as entertainments during the reign of Phō Khun Rāmklamhaeng (the second half of the thirteenth century). The existence of dancing to the accompaniment of songs and music, which the Thai call 'Rabam', was first reported in a Thai context during the

---

(1) King Rama II, Inao, Bangkok, 1949, p. 1208.

(2) Phra Mahā Nāk, Bunnōwāt Kham Chan, Bangkok, 1917, p. 27.

(3) The term is probably related to Javanese 'lakuan', a general term widely used from ancient times in the islands for theatrical entertainments connected with ceremonies. The direction of borrowing may have been via Khmer; cf. Cambodian 'lokkhōn, lukkhūn'.

(4) Prachum Silā Chāru'k, Pt. 1, Bangkok, 1924, p. 55.

reign of Phayā Lithai<sup>(1)</sup> (1353-71). In early Ayuthaya, they had a sort of open-air performance called "Len Kān Du'kdam-ban"<sup>(2)</sup> in connection with grandiose ceremonies of the court. It is based on an episode of the Rāmāyana where the gods, the demons and the monkeys stir the ocean to acquire immortal nectar. However, the technique of representation was closer to the masked-play. As far as we know, Lakhōn existed as a sort of stage-play in the reign of Somdet Phra Nārāi<sup>(3)</sup> (1656-88) according to De la Loubère:

"The show which they call Lacone is a poem intermixt with epic and dramatic, which lasts three days, from eight in the morning till seven at night. They are histories in verse, serious, and sung by several actors always present, and which do only sing reciprocally. One of them sings the historian's part, and the rest those of the personage which the history makes to speak; but they are all men that sing, and no women. . . . The Lacone serves principally to solemnize the feast of the dedication of a new temple, when a new statue of their Somana-Codom is placed therein."<sup>(4)</sup>

The above passage is the earliest authentic mention ever found. Reference to Lakhōn of that period does not occur in any Thai source. It may be assumed that at this early date in its history Lakhōn was not yet renowned as a prominent histrionic art. The style might still have

---

(1) Ibid., pp. 132-33.

(2) Pramuan Kotmāi Rachakān Thī Nu'ng Chabap Luang Trā Sām Duang, Vol. I, Bangkok, 1938, pp. 121-22.

(3) Simon de la Loubère, Du royaume de Siam, Tome premier, Paris, 1691, pp. 187-88.

(4) A.P. Gen. R.S.S. (trans.), A New Historical Relation of the Kingdom of Siam, London, 1693, p. 49.

been simple, with extempore singing following the story as it was played on the stage. It is not hard for the Thai to perform extempore, as they are poetically minded. In the reign of Somdet Phra Nārāi, they were well-known for their ability to produce intelligent talk and raillery in verse. De la Loubère also acknowledged this fact:

" . . . as well the women as the men are all very readily verst therein; the most ordinary method of which is amongst them a continued raillery, wherein emulously appears the briskness of the answer and repartees." (1)

Such natural aptitude exists not only among the intellectual class but among the illiterate as well. Numerous rhymesters in rural districts, during festive times or when they are not busy, frequently enjoy themselves in singing verse extempore. (2)

In the southern region of the Thai kingdom, there has long existed a dance-drama called 'Lakhōn Nōrā' or 'Lakhōn Chātrī'. Its legendary history is such as to suggest that it is the prototype from which the Ayuthaya

---

(1) A.P. Gen. R.S.S., op. cit., p. 54.

(2) See: H.H. Prince Bidyalankarana, 'The Pastime of Rhyme Making and Singing in Rural Siam', J.S.S., Vol. XX, Bangkok, 1927, pp. 101-27.

(3) Nakhōn Sīthamarāt, otherwise Ligor or Mu'ang Lakhōn, is the centre of Nōrā and is also assumed to be the first province where this type of Lakhōn came into existence. See: Department of Fine Arts (comp.), Tamnān Lae Kham Klōn Wai Khrū Lakhōn Chātrī, Bangkok, 1951, pp. 51-76.



drama developed. The term 'chātrī' which means strong, valiant, or powerful serves as its primary name. It is probably a derivative of a Sanskrit term—ksatriya—referring to a warrior-king, because the repertory of Lakhōn Chātrī consists of heroic tales dealing with the adventure of a king or a prince who performs deeds of valour to win the girl he loves. The tale of Nāng Manōrā was frequently played by Lakhōn Chātrī in the early period, and the performance was accordingly called 'Lakhōn Manōrā<sup>(2)</sup>'. As syllabic reduction is a feature of southern Thai dialects, the trisyllabic form 'manōra' is represented by dissyllabic; hence 'Lakhōn Manōrā' became 'Lakhōn Nōrā'.

There is a comic character in Nāng Manōrā known as Phrān Bun. He is a hunter and a loyal attendant of Phra Suthon, the hero in that story. This can be compared with a strikingly similar mention in the legendary history of Lakhōn Chātrī. We find, in the latter, that a deity transforms a rock into a man, gives him a golden mask representing a hunter and names him Phrān Bun. Then this fellow becomes the companion of Phra Thēp Singhōn, the hero of the earliest Chātrī troupe.

---

(1) See: Department of Thai, Triam Udom Su'ksā School, (comp.), Prawat Wannakhadī, Vol. II, Bangkok, 1951.

(2) Manōrā is a bird-woman who is captured by a hunter. She is led to meet a prince who finally marries her. This tale derives from Sudhana Jātaka.

The legend runs that in former times Lakhōn Chātrī employed only men. They travelled from place to place, carrying theatrical properties with them, to entertain people. After having gained popularity in the southern part of Thailand, they were led to Ayuthaya where they obtained richer costumes from the King. The Chātrī performance was then started in the central region (Ayuthaya) and, as it was the delight of all people, their histrionic art was preserved to later generations.

The above account suggests that Lakhōn Chātrī had a function as an entertainment without religious purpose. But, this type of drama, even though it is performed less frequently to-day, has a magico-religious function. It is performed in honour of Brahministic deities, with mention also of Buddhist religious concepts, as a thank-offering or propitiation. In former times such motives may have been relatively more dominant. The players themselves felt the need to safeguard themselves against adverse magical influences by wearing amulets and reciting incantations. In central Thailand, the Chātrī style has developed until it differs (1) from Nōrā in the southern region, yet the magico-religious function still operates.

---

(1) See: H.R.H. Prince Damrong Rajanubhab, *op. cit.* pp. 46-52; René Nicolas, 'Le lakhon nora ou lakhon chatrī et les origines du théâtre classique siamois', *J.S.S.*, Vol. XVIII, 1924, p. 105.

The dance-drama which De la Loubère described in *Du royaume de Siam* is known by another name as 'Lakhōn Nōk', signifying the dance-drama performed outside the royal palace by outsiders. It stands in some relation to Lakhōn Chātrī as regards the purpose of representation and the players. The Lakhōn Nōk repertory consists of a variety of tales such as Kārakēt, Khāwī, Chaiyathat, Phikunthōng, Phimsawan, Phinsuriwong, Nāng Manōrā, Mōngpā, Manīphichai, Sangthōng, Sangsinchai, Suwannahong, Suwannasin and Sōwat.<sup>(1)</sup> The earliest date of these texts is ascribed to the Ayuthaya period.<sup>(2)</sup> Nāng Manōrā appears to be the earliest example. It contains irregular metre with tautological and uncultivated expressions, and unfixed orthography, which indicate the possibility of extempore performance during its early existence as an entertainment for the commoners. The poem was presumably copied down by some spectators who also wanted to enjoy it by reading, or by descendants of the Lakhōn performers who found it more appropriate to play by using the text.

---

(1) The extant versions of these texts are in the form of manuscripts, being kept in the custody of Vajirañān National Library, Bangkok. None of them are complete. However, Nāng Manōrā and Sangthōng were published so as to exemplify the characteristic of Lakhōn texts composed in the Ayuthaya period.

(2) H.R.H. Prince Damrong Rājanubhab, op. cit., p. 103.

Prince Damrong Rajanubhab expressed his idea that the term 'Lakhōn Nōk' was used after the court drama (1) had come into existence as a contrast. The court drama was formerly called 'Lakhōn Nāng Nai', signifying a theatrical performance of the court ladies, otherwise 'Lakhōn Khāng Nai' —a theatrical performance made in the interior, restricted part of the royal court, and hence 'Lakhōn Nai', owing to syllabic attrition in later periods.

The dancing, songs and music of Lakhōn Nōk are of quick movements if compared with Lakhōn Nai. The comic character plays an important part, because it is he who provokes the hilarity of the audience. The stories presented in Lakhōn Nōk are adapted from legends, Buddhist Jatakas and local tales, except the Rāmakien, Unarut, Dālang and Inao which are confined to Lakhon Nai. The latter is a display of grace and beauty in every respect, i.e. the verses, melodies, moving gestures and costumes. In former times, one could find another main difference between Lakhōn Nōk and Lakhōn Nai: the restriction of employing entirely men in the former and entirely women in the latter.

The earliest date of Lakhōn Nai is still unknown, but it is certain that such performance existed in the reign of Somdet Phra Chao Bōromakōt and once took place

---

(1) H.R.H. Prince Damrong Rajanubhab, op. cit., p. 13.

outside the royal court as an entertainment in connection with a religious celebration at Saraburi, according to Bunnōwāt Khamchan:

They dance, performing Lakhōn Nai for the King's pleasure.  
 The stage is near the hill, hidden from prying eyes.  
 All are pretty young girls, chosen with special care.<sup>(1)</sup>  
 A single glance — one dreams of them forever!

The passage quoted is the earliest source referring to the existence of Lakhōn Nai. We have no other evidence to clarify whether it was initiated in that reign or if it had been known before. The reign of Somdet Phra Čhao Bōromakōt was long and peaceful. Ayuthaya was in friendly relationship with neighbouring countries.<sup>(2)</sup> So it would be reasonable that the court ladies would have had the opportunity to produce an elaborate specialized form of drama like Lakhōn Nai to entertain the King. There is no evidence that this specialized form of high-class drama existed as early as the reign of Somdet Phra Nārāi, even if it had come into existence in a reign prior to that of Somdet Phra Čhao Bōromakōt. De la Loubère mentioned only Lakhōn performed by men, and another style of dancing without

---

(1) Phra Mahā Nāk, op. cit., p. 27.

(2) The war between Thailand and Burma did not occur. There was an exchange of envoys in 1744. See: Phra Rācha Phongśāwadān Chabap Phra Rācha Hatthalēkhā, Vol. II, Pt. 1, Bangkok, 1952, pp. 349-50.

story—Rabam—in which women took part:

(1)  
 "The Rabam is a double dance of men and women which is not martial, but gallant; and they presented unto us the diversion thereof with the others, which I have therefore mentioned. These dancers, both men and women, have all false nails, and very long ones, of copper. They sing some words in their dancing, and and they can perform it without much tiring themselves, because their way of dancing is a simple march round, very slow, and without any high motion; but with a great many slow contortions of the body and arms, so they hold not one another. Meanwhile two men entertain the spectators with several fooleries, which one utters in the name of all the men-dancers, and the other in the name of all women-dancers. . . ." (2)

The term 'rabam' is of Khmer origin and referred (3)  
 in the Khmer context to temple dances of a ritual character. This term is attested from the sixth to the seventh century under the verbal form 'ram' or 'ramam', parallel with another derived substantive 'rpam' or 'rapam' in the sixth and the (4)  
 seven century only.

Lakhōn Nai appears to contain elements of Rabam, Lakhōn Nōk and Khōn (the masked-play). The technique of

(1) If the tradition was followed, they would have been women-dancers dressed up in men's costumes.

(2) A.P. Gen. R.S.S., op. cit., p. 49.

(3) Georges Coedès, 'Origine et évolution des diverses formes du théâtre traditionnel en Thaïlande', B.S.E.I.C., 38, 3/4, 1963, pp. 489-506.

(4) Bernard Philippe Groslier, 'Danse et musique sous les rois d'Angkor', Felicitation Volumes of Southeast Asian Studies presented to H.H. Prince Dhani Nivat. . . , Vol. II, Siam Society, Bangkok, 1965, p. 288.

representation, beautiful dancing by women to the accompaniment of music and songs sung by a group of singers, is comparable to Rabam; the long performance in continuation also called Lakhōn, seems to follow Lakhōn Nōk; and the stories of Unarut and Rāmakien which were presented in the early period are probably adapted from those in Khōn. Prince Damrong Rajanubhab expressed his opinion as follows:

"The origin of Lakhōn Nai may be traced back to one of the Kings of Ayuthaya who wanted the court dancers to present Rabam in connection with Brahministic stories, for instance to dress themselves as heavenly beings and dance in the story of Rāmasūn. They might have performed this type of Rabam at some court ceremonies, the same as Len Kān Du 'kdamban. Perhaps it is the story of Rāmasūn that became the inspiration for Lakhōn Nai, since it has been represented in a prelude dance to Lakhōn Nai until the Ratanakosin period. It is probable that once Rabam developed into a long story, it became a custom to make this performance at royal ceremonies within the court, like the court masked-play which used to be performed at royal ceremonies outside. Later on, when they got the idea of having Rabam based on other stories, they selected some episodes from the masked-play which suited the dancing, for instance the story of Unarut in Krisnāwatān, and adapted those extracts with the Lakhōn technique and trained the court dancers. Such performance would be satisfactory and the court drama existed thenceforth." (1)

Lakhōn Nai seems to have flourished only in the reign of Somdet Phra Čhao Bōromakōt and fell out of fashion thereafter. When Somdet Phra Čhao Ekathat (1758-67) wanted to watch Lakhōn, they had to send for men-performers from

---

(1) H.R.H. Prince Damrong Rajanubhab, op. cit., pp.12-14.

(1)  
outside.

The Ayuthaya period ended with a great loss of Thai culture and fine arts by the Burmese sack in 1767, but that resulted in the spreading of Lakhōn Nai. Among the captives taken to Ava, there were many Lakhōn Nai teachers. There they formed a Lakhōn troupe and restarted the fascinating performances which pleased the King of Ava so much. They were offered the same duty as before the fall of Ayuthaya — to be a royal Lakhōn and make the performances in connection with state ceremonies only. They were also offered residences in the capital of Burma even when the latter was shifted to Mandalay. Phra Aranraksā, the Head of Royal Forest Department in Prince Damrong Rajanubhab's time, who was a citizen of Mandalay, related that there was a Yodaya village in Mandalay provided for the Thai Lakhōn troupe.

The art of Thai drama had a great influence over Burmese drama after 1767. Members of the Thai nobility became teachers of drama at the Burmese court and the Thai technique of representation was adopted for the Burmese

---

(1) H.R.H. Prince Damrong Rajanubhab, op. cit., pp.96-97.

(2) The term 'Yodaya' represents Ayuthaya or the Thai kingdom in those days.

(3) H.R.H. Prince Damrong Rajanubhab, Thiao Mu'ang Phamā, Bangkok, 1948, p. 16.



stage. Maung Htin Aung described Thai Lakhōn in Burma at that period as a faithful reproduction of the Thai model:

" . . . The play was presented with Siamese (which were very similar to the Cambodian) dresses and costumes. . . The introduction of Burmese elements into the play through the professional actors was prevented by the tradition of rigid faithfulness to the Siamese model. The Siamese courtier-captives of course discouraged any interference with the form of their entertainment, which they took to be a perfect art; probably they thought the Burmese, as far as dramatic representation was concerned, to be barbarians. Moreover, many of the Burmese scholars themselves were against any substantial changes in the presentation of the play at their court. They were for borrowings from, and imitations of, the Siamese play, but they held that the model must be kept unchanged and intact. . . However, changes were introduced in the actual words of the songs and speeches. . . The gesture, rather than actual acting and facial expression, was of great importance in the Siamese play, and that the Burmese court rigidly followed." (1)

The most important stories presented by Thai Lakhōn in Burma were Rama and Eenaung. The latter was of greater length and also distinguished in its refined language, dialogue and characterization. There were some performances of Lakhōn Nōk as well, probably introduced by the Thai captives who were commoners.

After long periods of living there, from generation

---

(1) Maung Htin Aung, Burmese Drama, London, 1937, p. 44.

(2) The Rāmakien and Inao.

(3) Maung Htin Aung, op. cit., p. 47.

(4) H.R.H. Prince Damrōng Rajanubhab, Tamnān Ru'ang Lakhōn Inao, p. 99.

to generation, and mixing with the Burmese, Thai dramatic art gradually fell under Burmese influence. There is a dramatic dance commonly used in Burmese performances of the Rama epic known as Yodaya dance which indicates the Thai origin, but it contains almost entirely Burmese characteristics when performed nowadays. The Thai model remains only in the beginning of the basic postures, i.e. the salutation of the celestials, the preliminary movement and the four-faced Brahma. Besides, it can be found in the names of some yodaya songs which are clearly derived from Thai:

<u>Yodaya</u>	<u>Thai</u>
Khamein	Khamēn
Ngu Ngit	Yu Ngit
Mahothi	Mahōrī
Htanauk	Tanāo
Farantin	Farang Ten
Khetmun	Khaek Mōn
Parim	Palim (1)

Lakhōn Nai did not only spread to Burma but also to the southern region of Thailand after the Ayuthaya period. Nakhōn Sīthamarāt became the refuge of some court actresses who fled from the calamity in Ayuthaya. The training for Lakhōn Nai was revived under the Governor's patronage until 1769, in the Thonburi period, when Somdet Phra Chao Krung Thonburi (King Tāk Sin) gained a victory

---

(1) H.R.H. Prince Damrong Rajanubhab, Thiao Mu'ang Phamā, p. 465.

over Nakhōn Sīthamarāt. The court actresses and the female Lakhōn troupe were taken up to Thonburi. There Lakhōn Nai was restarted and confined to the royal court in order to preserve the old custom. However, the Governor of Nakhōn Sīthamarāt, being regarded with much favour and also honoured as the king of a vassal state, obtained the privilege of having a Lakhōn Nai troupe of his own. His actresses were called to Thonburi at times to play in competition with the royal Lakhōn troupe. During that period, Lakhōn Nōk which had been popularly played by the commoners still existed in some other provinces far from the Burmese attack. In 1779, when there was a reception of the Emerald Buddha Image, individual Lakhōn troupes played in competition. The royal pavilion was in the middle, the female Lakhōn on one side and the male Lakhōn on the other.<sup>(1)</sup>

Somdet Phra Čhao Krung Thonburi (1767-82) took much interest in dance-drama. Only a short time after the victory over Nakhōn Sīthamarāt, he revised a few episodes of the Rāmakien to be used as royal texts for the court performance. The poem was written down in four samut thai:<sup>(2)</sup>

Samut thai 1 — Phra Mongkut and Phra Lop try

---

(1) King Rama V, Phra Rācha Wičhān Duai Ru'ang Čhotmāi-hēt Khwām Song Čam Khōng Kromaluang Narinthrathēwi, Bangkok, 1916, pp. 12-22.

(2) Thai books used in former days. For the nature of samut thai, see Chapter II.

the arrows; Phra Phrot captures Phra Mongkut; and Phra Lop rescues Phra Mongkut.

Samut thai 2 --- Hanumān courts Nāng Wānarin; Thāo Mālīwarāt comes to assume the duty of a judge.

Samut thai 3 --- Thāo Mālīwarāt judges the case; Thotsakan returns to Longkā.

Samut thai 4 --- Thotsakan performs a ceremony to acquire magic; Phra Lak is hit by the Kabilaphat spear; Hanumān ties Monthō's hair with Thotsakan's.<sup>(1)</sup>

Tradition had said that Inao was also presented<sup>(2)</sup> on the stage. As there is no written record of the revision of Inao in this reign, it is probable that they followed the Ayuthaya text through the memory of some actresses.

The restoration of Lakhōn went on more effectively at the beginning of the Ratanakosin period. Phra Bāt Somdet Phra Phuttha Yōt Fā Čhulā Lōk (King Rama I, 1782-1809)

(1) See: Somdet Phra Čhao Krung Thonburi, Rāmakien, Bangkok, 1941.

(2) An episode known as 'A Request for the Oracle by the Candlelight' was played in the royal court. On the stage, Busbā, the heroine, was urged by the second queen of Dāhā to ask the Holy Image about her true partner. Busbā was shy and did not want to utter any word, but finally had to comply with the second queen's wish. Somdet Phra Čhao Krung Thonburi who had been watching the performance was annoyed all of a sudden, saying that the second queen was a busybody. The actress who acted as the second queen was then taken out to be punished by the royal command. This incident happened not long before the end of the Thonburi period. See: Dhanit Yupho, Silapin Haeng Lakhōn Thai, Bangkok, 1954, pp. 21-23.

permitted the princes who were the Heads of various Departments to have Lakhōn Nai troupes of their own on condition<sup>(1)</sup> that each troupe should consist of men only, thus preserving the old custom that the female Lakhōn Nai should be confined to the Grand Palace. Tradition says that a training of small girls for Lakhōn Nai in the Front Palace had to be given up.<sup>(2)</sup> However, it was the first time that Lakhōn Nai could be considered as a general term for a certain type of stage performance which did not need to be a female Lakhōn but had to maintain the high standard of theatrical art and beauty. The King and his court poets revised all the four Lakhōn Nai texts. The Rāmakien was rewritten in 106 samut thai, Unarut in 18 samut thai, Dālang in 32 samut thai and Inao in 38 samut thai.<sup>(3)</sup>

The Rāmakien and Inao seemed to gain larger popularity than the other two, judging from the epithets of the renowned actresses in that period which referred to the characters they represented.<sup>(4)</sup> Complete versions of the Rāmakien and Unarut have been preserved down to the present day, but only seven samut thai of Inao remain in existence.

---

(1) H.R.H. Prince Damrong Rajanubhab, Tamnān Ru'ang Lakhōn Inao, p. 16.

(2) Ibid., p. 108.

(3) Ibid., p. 105.

(4) Dhanit Yupho, op. cit., pp. 52-65.

The content of Inao (King Rama I's version) can be combined into six episodes as follows:

Episode 1 — The history of the Divine Race; Inao's first visit to Manyā.

Episode 2 — Inao's visit to Čhintarā's apartment; his decision not to marry Busbā.

Episode 3 — Wiyāsakam on a hunt in the forest; a letter from King Kurēpan to King Manyā.

Episode 4 — The Kamangkuning war.

Episode 5 — Inao's visit to Malakā; Unākan's visit to Mt. Patčhā-ngan.

Episode 6 — The abduction of Yāran to Ma-ngādā; his return to Kālang.

Only a single version of Dālang, with an incomplete story, exists at present. The story develops as far as the reunion in Kālang. The authorship is not mentioned, yet there is a credible possibility that it was composed in the reign of King Rama I because the language used is comparable to the Rāmakien of that period.

The purpose of writing these palace texts was mainly to present the stories in full detail. However, the Lakhōn experts discovered later that some parts could not be acted on the stage because they were too long and some expressions did not suit the dancing postures. Such defects might be the source of inspiration to the revisions of the

Rāmakien and Inao in the succeeding reign.

Phra Bāt Somdet Phra Phuttha Loet Lā Naphālai (King Rama II, 1809-24) was a Lakhōn lover who brought the court performance to high distinction. He produced various Lakhōn texts which revealed his talent as one of the best poets. When he was the Second King in his father's reign, he adapted an episode of Unarut for his Lakhōn Nai troupe which consisted of small girls. Such activity did not last long for fear of transgressing the royal custom. When he ascended the throne, he was first interested in promoting the playing of Inao which, in olden days, had been under the management of the princes and princesses of senior rank. The whole story of Inao was revised and written in 45 samut thai approximately. It is this version that gained great popularity, being chosen by the Royal Society of Arts and Literature of Thailand in 1916 as the most excellent of all Lakhōn texts.

King Rama II realised later on that the story of Rama, which portrays an incarnation of Vishnu, had been considered as an important traditional performance in which some religious undertones were perhaps preserved by the former kings. Though he was not much interested, he thought it ought to be played to safeguard the honour and glory of the royal Lakhōn. So, to continue the tradition, he adapted the Rāmakien as another Lakhōn Nai text for the

Grand Palace. This version was written in 33 samut thai, but did not cover the whole story. It consists of two unconnected parts suitable for the stage. On the basis of methods of adaptation which were followed by the poets in later periods, the reign of King Rama II may be called a transition from the old style of Ayuthaya to the new style of Ratanakosin. The old style of composing and presenting on the stage each story entirely from the beginning right down to the end went out of fashion, because some episodes might not suit the theatrical art. The performers might not find them convenient as they had to depend on the style and sequence of the text. Besides, it may have been easier to compose dramatic versions of suitable incidents rather than to draw on sections of a long text and perform them verbatim. This, in any case, appears to have been the way in which the Lakhon texts developed in the Ratanakosin period.

Since Lakhon Nōk became more and more popular outside the Grand Palace, King Rama II had the idea of having it as another royal entertainment and probably to compete with that of the commoners. He initiated the royal Lakhon Nōk, employing the court actresses who were trained in that jocular style. It was the first time that Lakhon Nōk was performed by the court ladies side by side with Lakhon Nai in the royal quarter. Suitable sections of six



stories were chosen and written for the performance of the royal Lakhōn Nōk. Those texts were:- Chaiyachēt, in 4 samut thai; Sangthōng, in 7 samut thai; Kraithōng, in 2 samut thai; Khāwī, in 4 samut thai; Manīphichai, in 1 samut thai; and Sangsinchai, in 2 samut thai.<sup>(1)</sup>

All the palace texts for Lakhōn Nai and Lakhōn Nōk were composed with great care so as to be perfect for the stage. A version once produced by the collaboration of the King and his court poets was taken into a council for approval. Then it was sent to be modified by the Lakhōn experts till they found it satisfactory. Moreover, the court actresses were trained and the performance took place in the presence of the King for his final agreement.<sup>(2)</sup>

Consequently, the royal Lakhōn in the reign of King Rama II turned out to be excellent in all respects. The standard of the costumes and other properties, the texts, the technique of representation and music were of such good quality that there has been nothing since to compare with them. However, that perfect pattern was restricted to the

---

(1) Phra Rācha Phongsāwadān Krung Ratanakosin Rachakān Thī 2, Bangkok, 1962, pp. 591-2.

(2) Damrong Rajanubhab, H.R.H. Prince, Tamnān Ru'ang Lakhōn Inao, pp. 144-5.

Grand Palace. The other members of royalty did not dare imitate the King's production. The old custom was still preserved: the female Lakhon belonged to the King only, and on special occasions they made performances before the public.<sup>(1)</sup>

Phra Bāt Somdet Phra Nang Klao Čhao Yū Hua (King Rama III, 1824-50) also had dramatic talent and used to join his father in composing the Lakhon texts. He was responsible for training players of the male masked-play in his palace during his father's lifetime, yet his increasing trend to strict religious views led him to consider that theatrical performances were unworthy. Therefore, when he ascended the throne, both the male masked-play and Lakhon of the Khāng Nai type were discouraged by him and given up. They were not recommenced in his reign.

There are some references to such an incident in the Decrees of King Mongkut which indicate that King Rama III did not exactly prohibit the Lakhon training by other patrons outside the Grand Palace, but only showed his disapproval of the royal families who carried on such activity:

---

(1) In this case, they did not employ women of high rank. If the performers were not sufficient in numbers, the royal concubines were then employed to fill the cast. See: The Decrees of King Mongkut, No. 64, Bangkok, 1922.

" . . . The King was not interested in Lakhōn and reproached those who produced it, yet there were quite a number of secret performances. . ." (1)

" . . . There was no royal Lakhōn Khāng Nai. Or if there was any at all, it was merely performed in secret by the royal concubines. The King, in fact, found out about it and was displeased. Consequently, they had to stop it. Then Malay female Lakhōn was started up. The hero was a man; the heroine was sometimes a girl. When a company wanted to train girls for Lakhōn, they did so for the Malay type. Later on, the officials of various ranks secretly trained female Lakhōn in various stories on quite a large scale, but these all took place in their home. They never came to the stage or acquired sponsors openly, because it would cause the situation to be talked about in the public. It was simply a secret activity among friends who knew each other very well, the whole matter being kept from the King's knowledge." (2)

The princes and officials of senior rank had been fascinated by the royal Lakhōn of the previous reign. Therefore, despite the fear of transgressing King Rama III's view, they started up female Lakhōn of their own, having two experts, who had trained the royal Lakhōn of King Rama II, as the teachers. (3) Since there was no theatrical training in the Grand Palace, such imitation would not be considered as an emulation. They followed that perfect pattern, and the texts they used were mainly King Rama II's versions among which Inao retained its popularity. Excerpts from

---

(1) Decree No. 58, promulgated in 1855.

(2) Decree No. 64, promulgated in 1861.

(3) H.R.H. Prince Damrong Rajanubhab, Tamnān Ru'ang Lakhōn Inao, p. 126.

Inao were also sung by the female Mahōrī singers to the accompaniment of music. A reference to this adaptation was made in a sarcastic poem on the inappropriate behaviour of a senior official in that period:

After having audience with the King,  
Chaokhun wanted a singing  
Of 'Inao going to the cave', (2)  
And cheerfully did his concubines sing.

(3) The story of Inao was a favourite theme of Sakrawā as well. In 1831, during the celebration at Wat Rācha Ōrot after renovation, an episode of 'Thanksgiving Ceremony at Dāhā' was sung in the presence of King Rama III. Then, in the same year, at Wat Sa Kēt on the same occasion, (4) the Sakrawā singers sang an episode of 'Nāng Chintarā'.

There were three companies of female Lakhōn. The first one was Lakhōn Wang Nā or Lakhōn of the Front Palace, under the management of the Second King - Krom Phra Rācha Wang Bōwōn Mahā Sakdi Phonlasēp. He not only presented King Rama II's texts but also composed some more

(1) Mahōrī has been a sort of entertainment for aristocrats since the Ayuthaya period. As female Lakhōn was restricted to the Grand Palace, the aristocrats had male Lakhōn and musicians, and employed girls in singing.

(2) This poem is anonymous but assumed to be written by Phra Mahā Montrī (Sap) against Chamū'n Rāchāmāt (Thōngpān).

(3) Men and women in separate groups sing alternately while boating.

(4) See: Bot Sakrawā Ru'ang Inao, Bangkok, 1919, 68 pp.

for Lakhōn Nōk, i.e. the Rāmākien - Hanumān volunteers and the quarrel between Nāng Benyakāi and Nāng Suwan Kanyumā; Kākī - the abduction of Nāng Kākī by King of Garuda; Phra Lō - where Phra Lō is charmed; and Khun Chāng Khun Phaen - The meeting between Nāng Lāothōng and Nāng Wanthōng, Khun Phaen enters Khun Chāng's house, the ghost of Nāng Wanthōng stops the army. The performance went on for eight years, then it was given up after the death of the Second King.<sup>(1)</sup>

The second company of female Lakhōn had a senior official, Čhao Phrayā Bōdin Dēchā, as the patron. Some actresses became the trainers for royal female Lakhōn of the Cambodian court.<sup>(2)</sup>

The third company belonged to Čhao Phrayā Nakhōn Sīthamarāt (Nōi), a relative to the Second King from whom he obtained Lakhōn properties and several actresses of the Front Palace. These actresses became Lakhōn teachers in the southern region in later periods.<sup>(3)</sup>

The other famous Lakhōn companies employed only men. Among those under the management of the princes, Lakhōn of Kromaluang Raksa Ronarēt played Inao and used the version

---

(1) See: Damrong Rajanubhab, H.R.H. Prince, Tamnān Ru'ang Lakhōn Inao, pp. 126-7.

(2) Ibid., pp. 128-9.

(3) Ibid., p. 129.

of King Rama I, while the Lakhōn of Kromaluang Phūwanēt Narinthrarit followed the Lakhōn Nai style in dancing but played in the Lakhōn Nōk stories, the texts being composed by Kromaluang Phūwanēt himself.<sup>(1)</sup>

The commoners still preserved the old custom. They performed only Lakhōn Nōk, employed only men and were dependent on old texts. The most famous company was the Lakhōn of Čhao Krap.<sup>(2)</sup>

Lakhōn was not only an ordinary entertainment but also an activity significant for the Thai Kingdom. Lakhōn Nai, especially, was for the honour and glory of the Kings. There were performances for foreign missions who went to seek audience of the Kings. They formed part of royal celebrations and ceremonies, especially those of a religious nature, and thus were closely connected with the Sacred White Elephant, another symbol linking the monarch with religion. Indeed, some of the Thai people had thought that there was no Sacred White Elephant in the reign of King Rama III because there was no Lakhōn Nai.<sup>(3)</sup> Nevertheless, towards the end of his life in 1850, after having carried on his policy and practices in the religious sphere as a

---

(1) H.R.H. Prince Damrong Rajanubhab, Tamnān Ru'ang Lakhōn Inao, pp. 127-28.

(2) Ibid., pp. 126, 130.

(3) See: The decree of King Mongkut No. 64.

devout Buddhist, King Rama III decreed that the gold in his possession, which would be left over after all merit-making, could be distributed for Lakhōn properties as well as for state affairs.<sup>(1)</sup>

Phra Bāt Somdet Phra Chōm Klao Chao Yū Hua (King Rama IV, 1850-74) had a liberal mind and agreed with the nobles and courtiers that Lakhōn Nai should be revived to preserve the royal tradition. In 1854, a ceremony for qualified actresses took place, and they started their performance in this year on the reception of a Sacred White Elephant. The King let the court ladies who, formerly, were actresses train the children whose parents had bestowed them for services in the Grand Palace as determined by their abilities and numbers. But, he forbade them to go out and select children whose parents had not agreed to offer them so as not to cause distress among such families. It used to happen in former days that some people, who did not want their daughters to be confined within the Grand Palace, hastened to marry their daughters off so that they could be claimed as being the property of a husband. Some parents hid their daughters or even fled with them for fear of the investigators. Some people caused their daughters to use

---

(1) Prachum Phongsāwadān, Pt. 25, Bangkok, 1929, p. 3.

eye-drops to damage the eyes, or caused wounds and used preparations to make them worse so that they would not heal until they became cancerous. Some advised their daughters to appear crippled or infirm.<sup>(1)</sup> In the reign of King Rama IV, there was not a single woman in the royal Lakhōn troupe who was taken by force. The princes and officials of various ranks were also permitted to train female Lakhōn openly to create joy and honour for the Thai Kingdom. They played together on some occasions, thus forming a big company. Sometimes only the leading characters from one troupe were sent to join those in another troupe. This was a further step in the development of Lakhōn.

However, the royal permission for training female Lakhōn outside the Grand Palace was given with certain restrictions. One can deduce from the details of these restrictions that there were important features of the symbols of royalty and nobility which were desired to be preserved for the royal household only. Non-royal dancers were not allowed to use any spired decorations for the hair top-knot, ornaments encrusted with enamel, golden trays, and boxes used to show ranks.<sup>(2)</sup> The use of a stage property representing the

---

(1) See: The decree of King Mongkut No. 64.

(2) See: The decree of King Mongkut No. 58.



White Elephant's head was also forbidden except when showing  
 (1)  
 Ērāwan.

While Lakhōn was flourishing in the reign of King Rama IV, some individual companies turned their performances to pecuniary advantage. Many of them were sponsored by the casino-managers who wanted to draw people's attention. The profit which professional Lakhōn players gained became beneficial to the state after the promulgation of another decree on Lakhōn taxation in 1859.

As it was more convenient to collect and train girls in histrionic art, and their performance also pleased the audience, the male Lakhōn was discouraged. Even Lakhōn Chātrī employed both men and women. The royal Lakhōn Chātrī which existed in the Grand Palace for the first time, however, consisted of women; they were the former Lakhōn Nai actresses from Nakhōn Sithamarāt. Lakhōn texts increased in great number. They were adapted from episodes of Brahministic and historical tales among which the best known was the Rāmakien. Some narrative poems of Sunthōn Phū were also adapted for female Lakhōn, and some episodes of Khun Chāng  
 (2)  
 Khun Phaen for mixed companies.  
 (3)

---

(1) The decree of King Mongkut, No. 42.

(2) H.R.H. Prince Damrong Rajanubhab, Tamnān Ru'ang Lakhōn Inao, pp. 151-52.

(3) Ibid., p. 146.

The royal permission for all people in training female Lakhōn caused Lakhōn Nōk and Lakhōn Nai to acquire some characteristics in common. The players could be either men, women, or both. The place of performance could be outside or inside the royal court. Only the original purpose of each type was preserved: Lakhōn Nōk was meant for amusement while Lakhōn Nai was acted for beauty.

The number of new Lakhōn texts in the reign of Phra Bāt Somdet Phra Čhula Čhōm Klao Čhao Yū Hua (King Rama V, 1878-1910) grew much larger than in the preceding period. Most of them were taken from well-known stories such as Phra Samut, Nārāi Sip Pāng, Phra Aphaimanī, Phra Lō, Kraithōng, Khun Chāng Khun Phaen and Rāchāthirāt. The Chinese chronicles and narrative poems were also adapted into the form of Lakhōn texts, though some of them were (1) not really aimed to be used for the stage.

In accompaniment to the performance of Inao, another literary piece entitled 'Dialogues for the Dance-Drama of Inao' was used in the reign of King Rama V. It was a work of collaboration by the King and his brothers. They used it for the first time in the performance connected with the celebration of the one-hundredth anniversary of Bangkok in 1882.

---

(1) For instance: Ngo Pā by King Rama V.

The royal female Lakhōn, consisting of former actresses of King Rama II and King Rama III's reigns, had the chance to present Sangthōng in 1870 and Inao in 1872, both connected with the celebration of the Sacred White Elephant. The third and last performance of Inao by this Lakhōn troupe took place in 1897 in honour of King Rama V (1) on his return from Europe.

The theatrical stage, the technique of representation and the dramatic texts met with further development during the last decade of the reign of King Rama V. Prior to that period, there was no scenery for Lakhōn because they thought that it would mar the attractiveness of the performers who danced in gorgeous costumes. Whatever the place of action was — in heaven, in a royal palace, in a forest, on a sea, etc. — the audience had to imagine it themselves. The Lakhōn dancers moved about in front of a large screened which was hung across the stage as the permanent background, leaving a space on the right and left for the entrance and exit. Close to the screen there was a raised seat, the only stage furniture. A band of singers sang with musical accompaniment for the performers who spoke from time to time in the dialogue. Another evidence

---

(1) Damrong Rajanubhab, H.R.H. Prince, Tamnān Ru'ang Lakhōn Inao, pp. 156-62.

of the characteristics of the Ayuthaya court performance, revived after 1767 in the Burmese court, is found in Burmese Drama by Maung Htin Aung:

"The actors and actresses wore gorgeous dress. Though the majority of the performers were professionals, many lords and ladies probably took part often, for at the Burmese court exiled members of the Siamese nobility took part in the earlier presentations of the play, but it may be that they had to do so as teachers of the new art of court dramatic performance. Music and songs were essentially connected with the play, and all the characters danced. There was no scenery, and change of scene was denoted (apart from references in the dialogue) either by the characters leaving the stage, or when some of the characters were supposed to be going on a journey, the actual journey was bridged over by the orchestra playing while the characters walked up and down the stage — a dramatic practice which was taken from the Siamese and used on the Burmese stage. The language was the language of the court, artificial, but not so removed from reality as to prevent it from being understood by the lowest classes. The play was mostly in verse. The prose was poetic and elegant except in comic scenes." (1)

The relationship between Thailand and European countries brought two modern types of Lakhōn into existence: Lakhōn Du'kdamban and Lakhōn Phanthāng. They were the adaptations of the developed concert band in Bangkok, the European Opera and the Lakhōn technique together. Scenery was provided, action was divided into parts, and the scenes

---

(1) Maung Htin Aung, *op. cit.*, pp. 41-42.

(2) Prachum Bōt Lakhōn Du'kdamban Chabap Bōribūn, Bangkok, 1943.

were changed in accordance with the incidents. The dancers themselves sang at times. Local dances and games were also woven into the story.

Lakhōn Du'kdamban may be considered as a type developed from Lakhōn Nai, because it displays beautiful dancing and songs. It was produced by Prince Narisarānuwat-<sup>(1)</sup>tiwong and Chao Phrayā Thēwēt Wong Wiwat in 1899. Prince Narisarānuwattiwong wrote many texts for Lakhōn Du'kdamban:

1. Sangthōng, in 6 scenes, 3 parts: from Rotčhanā choosing a husband, to the retransformation of Čhao Ngo (Sangthōng) into his real identity.

2. Khāwī, in 7 scenes, 3 parts: from That-prasāt burning Khāwī's sword, to the jealousy of Queen Khanthamālī.

3. Inao, 5 scenes, 3 parts: from Inao cutting a flower and casting a reflexion from his kris, to King Dāhā making offerings to the tutelary deity at Mt. Wilismārā.

4. Sangsinchai — in 2 episodes.

The first episode consists of 6 scenes, 3 parts: from the six princes murdering Sangsinchai, to the sight of an oracle.

The second episode also consists of 6

---

(1) Ibid.

scenes, 3 parts: from the return of the long lost members of royalty, the reception, to the revival of Sangsinchai.

5. Krung Phān Chom Thawīp, in 4 scenes, 2 parts: from the invasion of Krung Phān in heaven, to the incarnation of Vishnu.

6. Rāmakien, in 2 scenes, following the incidents in the Rāmāyana, about the jealousy of Surpanakha.

7. Unarut, in 1 scene: from King Bōromačhak-krit giving assistance to Unarut, the latter slaying Krung Phān, to a celestial dance. The style is similar to that of the masked-play.

8. Manīphichai, in 1 scene, following the text composed by King Rama II: Manīphichai and Nāng Yō Phra Klin, disguised as a Brahmin, in the forest.

It is evident that these texts derive from those of Lakhōn Nai and Lakhōn Nōk. They were only adjusted to suit the modern style of performance, e.g. speed-up with speaking in verse. The other well-known texts for Lakhōn Du'kdamban were written in the reign of King Rama VI: Sōng-<sup>(1)</sup>Kōn Wōrawik, Čantha Kinnarī and Phra Yotsakēt. All of them were based on Brahministic tales.

---

(1) See: Petchbūn Inthrāchai, H.R.H. Prince, Bot Lakhōn Du'kdamban, Bangkok, 1923.

Lakhon Phanthang is a combination of Lakhon Nok and Lakhon Du'kdamban. It displays humour and quick dancing movement, and scenery is provided. The best known text is Kraithong, composed by Prince Narathip Praphanphong in the reign of King Rama V.

The classical drama lost its popularity when new types of entertainments under Western influence were brought into Thailand during the twentieth century. After the second world war, a school of dance-training was established in Bangkok to preserve the high ancient standards of national theatrical art. The school has developed and become a university called Silpakorn. The students are trained in the arts of dancing and acting on the stage. Their annual performance takes place at the National Theatre, with a good deal of scenic display, and the texts used are modified from those written in former times.

## CHAPTER II

## HISTORY OF THE TEXTS

The original manuscripts of Dālang and Inao composed in the Ratanakosin period have not been preserved. Only a few later copies survive and even these exist in a defective condition — some pages being defaced by time or partly eaten by insects, or some books missing from the sets. Many scribal variants are also found among the same versions due to different copyists who worked at different periods.

Prior to the introduction of printing in Thailand, literary works were written down in 'samut khōi' or 'samut thai' — long strips of thick paper made from the bark of the khōi plant (*Streblus asper*), blackened with charcoal paste and folded forward and backward in concertina fashion. The standard size of such a book is 37 cm. by 13 cm. approximately and it contains about 24 folds. There are about 8 lines in each opening, with an average of 20 words to each line. The writing was done with white steatite pencil, otherwise with gamboge or yellow orpiment.

In comparing the manuscripts of Lakhōn texts, it is convenient to refer to an opening of the samut thai. This comprises 2 folios (an upper and a lower) as the leaves of the book are turned. The text normally contains a title



folio and it is written in continuous lines from left to right, and the primary division is in term of a 'wak' which is the smallest metrical unit. However, signs are used to mark larger units, particularly the canto. The number of 'khamklōn' (= 2 wak) in each canto is normally stated. Both sides of the folding book are used and there are normally two title folios: one being the lower folio of the last opening of the first side and the other being the upper folio of the first opening of the second side. At the end of the book a final folio normally indicates that it is the last volume of the tale or that the tale is continued in other volumes. In this thesis, reference is made occasionally to openings and folios but normally to chapters, cantos, khamklōn (lines) and wak (half-lines).

The publication of Lakhōn texts started during the second half of the nineteenth century. The earliest edition of Dālang known as Nāi Thēp's edition is dated 1890, having the same content as the manuscript comprising 32 samut thai available in the Vajirañān National Library together with another manuscript comprising 39 samut thai. The latest edition was accomplished in 1956 in connection with the royal cremation of Somdet Phra Phan Wassā Aiyikā Chao. It is a revision of Nāi Thēp's edition which now exists in a damaged state and the manuscript comprising 39 samut thai which has been already mentioned. As the

orthographic forms in the earlier writing, especially those of Indic loans, are unfixed, this edition follows the standard spelling in the Royal Institute Dictionary. The content of the text, however, is the same as that of Nāi Thēp.

When the manuscripts are examined side by side with the printed text, apart from orthographical variants, lexical variants are normally found to be minor ones though some of them may involve the structural rhyme.

There are some fragments of the manuscripts of Dālang existing in the Vajirañān National Library. For example, one copy of the first samut thai which primarily belonged to a prince of senior rank — Somdet Phra Rācha Pitulā — has been in the possession of the Library since 1931. It contains 62 cantos in which, if being considered comparatively to the 1956 edition, minor lexical variants not involving the structural rhyme occur in<sup>(1)</sup> 47 places. Differences in the structural rhyme occur in 5 places only, and we find the rhyme match again after a short interval<sup>(2)</sup> which, in this text, is not more than 1 khamklōn.

Dālang was a favourite theme of the theatre

---

(1) See: Appendix I.

(2) See: Appendix II.

under the management of Čhao Phrayā Mahinthra Sakdi Thamrong which was one of the best known theatres in the reign of King Rama V <sup>(1)</sup> (1868-1910). Another copy of the first samut thai written for that Lakhōn company was offered to the Vajirañān National Library in 1917 by a princess — Phra-ong Čhao Čhuthārat Rācha Kumārī. The manuscript reveals itself as a work adapted from the Dālang version of King Rama I. The first canto of each is illustrated here to exemplify the differences.

The Dālang of King Rama I:

mu'a nan  
(At that time)

phra-ong song phiphop ru'ang sī  
(The glorious ruler of the world)

hen sōng ōrot kō yindī  
(Is pleased to see both sons)

phūmī ning nu'k tru'ktrai  
(He thinks over and over again)

thang sōng čhamroen wai darun run  
(They have grown up to adolescence)

song sunthōn chōm phitsamai  
(With charming appearance)

---

(1) This Lakhōn company had started their performances during the reign of King Rama IV, but their theatre was established in the reign of King Rama V. They performed both Lakhōn Nai and Lakhōn Nōk. See: Damrong Rajanubhab, H.R.H. Prince, Tamnān Ru'ang Lakhōn Inao, pp. 163-4.

khuan mī khū sūsom phirom chai  
(They should enjoy a married life)

thāo thai chom sōng phra lūk rak  
(The King admires his two beloved  
sons)

phra chu'ng sang pramaisurī  
(Then he orders Pramaisurī)

chong chat isatrī thī mī sak  
(Select two girls of noble birth)

thī choet chōm chalao yaowalak  
(Who are young and beautiful)

(1)  
mā hai lūk rak rao sōng rā  
(For our two beloved sons)

The version of Chao Phrayā Mahinthra Sakdi

Thamrong:

mu'a nan  
(At that time)

thāo thēwānurāt ru'ang sī  
(The glorious King of the Divine Race)

sathit nu'a thaen rat rūchī  
(Sits on the shining gemmed divan)

phrōm phra mahēsī sōphā  
(With all his beautiful queens)

song ramphu'ng thu'ng sōng phra ōrot  
(He thinks about his two sons)

luan mō mot raek run chanasā  
(Both have reached adolescence)

yang rai khū sūsom phiromyā  
(But still remain single)

---

(1) Rama I, King, Dālang, p. 11.

kwā ǎa sēk busbā yang nān nak  
(The marriage with Busbā is still  
far off)

ǎam ǎa ǎat satri mī sakun  
(I should choose girls of noble birth)

thī raek run nā chom som sak  
(Who are young and whose beauty  
suits their high estate)

hai khiang khū sūsom phirom rak  
(To stay with them as consorts)

yang tamnak tu'k farang wang nai<sup>(1)</sup>  
(In the Inner Palace built in  
European style)

There is another manuscript of Dālang, copied by Khun Rācha Sāt, a royal secretary. Though it is based on the same story as the other copies, it is a later synthetic version adapted from the Dālang of King Rama I, the Inao of King Rama I and the Inao of King Rama II, and will not be considered in detail.

The Inao of King Rama I is perserved only as a number of fragments. Prince Damrong Rajanubhab explained<sup>(2)</sup> that this version was once composed of 38 samut thai with an epilogue saying that it was a royal work derived from an earlier unfinished version; the material after the nun

---

(1) Opening 1.

(2) See: Damrong Rajanubhab, H.R.H. Prince, Tamnān Ru'ang Lakhōn Inao, pp. 106-8.

episode has been added to complete the story. It happens that this version got scattered and nearly all of the samut thai were lost. Only 7 samut thai representing disconnected parts of the story remained in 1917.<sup>(1)</sup> These fragmentary copies were published in that year by the Vajirañān National Library as the first edition of the Inao of King Rama I.

A copy of the first samut thai of the Inao of King Rama I was purchased from Nakhōn Sīthamarāt in 1907 for the Vajirañān National Library. It contains 80 openings, with the incidents from the beginning to Inao falling in love with Čhintarā. The orthographic forms are very old, with rare use of the tone-marks, possibly dating from the early Ratanakosin period or even earlier. The same impression is to be gained from the script style.

An example from canto i, khamklōn 23-26:

อันระตุทุกเมืองซึ่งเรืองฤท    ก็ให้คิดค้นความอยู่นักหนา  
 สยบสยของกองโลมา    ควดยเกรงอาญาบาปเป็นอันคิด    ระเบิดถึงในก็"บ่อ"  
 ไมหานตาน"อรรค"    วิกที่วังดงอ้งพรอาทิต    เมื่อสัดในกลางอ่าว

---

(1) For the content of this version, see Chapter I, p. 19.



Example 5: canto ii, khamklön 51.

'on' linked with 'ong':

an phan phru'ksā phalāphon

thuk sing bančhong wai naknā

Example 6: canto ii, khamklõn 59-60.

'āng' linked with 'ān' and 'uang' linked  
with 'uan':

luan laeo duai kaeo thang kao yang

ōlān prasoet choet chuang

saen sanuk suk lam samrān ruan

wāyu huan hōm bu-ngā thang phraiwan

Example 7: canto iii, khamklōn 5-6.

'ot' linked with 'op':

an krung singhatsārī nan

chū' kunung kutuwān an prākot

dang ngoen yuang khāo phōng pen lak phop

prākot thang sī thānī

The printed text reveals some alterations of words to produce identity of sound where rhyming is needed in the structural pattern, and there is also normalization of the spelling of Indic loans and colloquial terms.







(1)  
existing in the royal quarter. This points to the setting  
of the Ayuthaya palaces before the Burmese sack in 1767.<sup>(2)</sup>  
It may be possible that the Inao of King Rama I is partly  
copied from the Ayuthaya version through the memory of  
the court actresses who fled and took refuge in Nakhōn Sī-  
thamarāt. There are indications that the Nakhōn Sīthamarāt  
text may have passed through a stage of oral transmission.  
These are:

(3) a) The imperfections of the structural  
rhymes which would not be so noticeable in a recited text  
but which could hardly form a part of a wholly written  
manuscript tradition because they are not merely scribal  
errors.

b) The appearance of certain colloquial  
forms such as 'phling' for 'phring' (canto i, khamklōn 14)  
and the repetition of phrases e.g. 'rāi riang' (canto ii,  
khamklōn 20 and 22).

The Ayuthaya court actresses restarted the  
training of Lakhōn Nai in Nakhōn Sīthamrāt and also in  
Thonburi after Nakhōn Sīthamarāt had become a vassal state

---

(1) Rama I, King, Inao, cantos 3 and 5.

(2) See: Bōrān Rāchā Thānin, Phrayā, Athibāi Phaentī  
Phra Nakhōn Sī Ayuthaya, Bangkok, 1926, pp. 20-1.

(3) The examples are given in pages 44 and 45.

under King Tāk Sin in 1769<sup>(1)</sup>. During that period they might not have been able to make a thorough revision of dramatic poems, because the experts in drama and the poets were not sufficient in number. Only a fragmentary version of the Ramakien composed by King Tāk Sin is known and has been preserved to the present day<sup>(2)</sup>. The performance of Inao possibly relied upon the Ayuthaya version until the reign of King Rama I when the old scattered materials were compiled and completed.

Since it was favoured by King Rama II, Inao was promoted to a distinctive position in his reign. They revised this poem with great care. It may have been due to the popularity of this high-quality product that the Inao of King Rama I was neglected and scattered away afterwards. Many manuscript copies of the Inao of King Rama II are available in the Vajirañān National Library<sup>(3)</sup>. Variant readings are normally only orthographic variants and lexical variants not involving the rhyme structure.

Example 1: canto i, khamklōn 1-8, from the copy given to the Vajirañān National Library in 1929 by Čhao Čhōm Sombun. This manuscript represents a work of an early date

---

(1) See: Chapter I, pp. 15-6.

(2) For the content, see pp. 16-7.

(3) Most of them are fragments.

and is in several hands. Many scribal errors are found.

มาจะกล่าวบทไป ถึงสิ่งคัทรงภพนาถา เปนหน่อเนื้อ  
 เชื้อวงศ์เทวา บิดุเรณมารดาเดียวกัน รุ่งเรืองฤทธาศักดาเดช  
 ได้ครองนั้ะเรศเชกษัน พระเชลาครองกรุงกุเวบัน ถัดนั้นครอง  
 คาหา องค์หนึ่งครองกาหลังบุรีรัต องค์หนึ่งครองสิ่งหัตถ์สารี  
 เณลิมโลกโลกาชาตรี ไม่มีผู้ไ้ร้อต่อฤทธ ระเบิดาทั่วทุกประเทศ  
 ยอมเกรงเดชเคชาอาอาลิต บำรุงราชคัมเขนอยุเปนนิค โดย  
 ทางทศมิตราธรรม

Example 2: canto i, khamklōn 1-8, from the copy worked by a royal secretary named Nāi Taeng. Though it is undated, the writing indicates that it is of a later period.

มาจะกล่าวบทไป ถึงสิ่งคัทรงธรรมนาถา เปนหน่อเนื้อ  
 เชื้อวงศ์เทวา บิดุเรศมานดาเดียวกัน รุ่งเรืองฤทธาศักดาเดช  
 ได้ดำรงนั้ะเรศเชกษัน พระเชษฐาครองกรุงกุเวบัน ถัดนั้นครอง  
 คาหาธานี องค์หนึ่งครองกาหลังบุรีรัตน องค์หนึ่งครองสิ่งหัตถ์สารี  
 เณลิมโลกโลกาชาตรี ไม่มีผู้ร้อต่อฤทธิ ระเบิดาทั่วทุกประเทศ

ย่อมเกรงเดชเดชาอาญาสิทธิ์ บำรุงราชสมบัติเขมรอยู่เป็นนิจ โดย  
ทางทศมิตรราชธรรม

Example 3: canto i, khamklōn 1-8, from the copy worked by Phra Nimit Aksōn (Phut Sālāk), a royal secretary, in 1925. It is identical with the printed text of 1921 edition.

มาจะกล่าวบทไป ถึงสิ่งทรงธรรมนาถา เป็นหน่อเนื้อ  
เชื้อวงศ์เทวา บิดุเรศมารดาเดียวกัน รุ่งเรืองฤทธาศักดาเดช  
ไต่ดำรงนัคเรศเขตรชัณฑ์ พระเชษฐาครองกรุงอุเรบัน ถัดนั้นครอง  
ดาหารธานี องค์หนึ่งครองกาหลงบุรีรัตน์ องค์หนึ่งครองสิงห์ค้ำสำหรับ  
เฉลิมโลกโลกาชาตรี ไม่มีผู้รอค่อฤทธิ ระเบิดาทั่วทุกประเทศ  
ย่อมเกรงเดชเดชาอาญาสิทธิ์ บำรุงราชสมบัติเขมรอยู่เป็นนิจ โดย  
ทางทศมิตรราชธรรม

The earliest printed text, 1874 edition, was produced by S. J. Smith who followed the manuscript copy in the possession of Somdet Chao Phrayā Borom Mahā Sī Suri-  
(1)  
ya Wong. There were some other editions by other presses

---

(1) This edition, if compared with the 1921 edition, differs in minor variations of a lexical nature only.

having S.J. Smith's edition as the model. Those who remembered the original version of King Rama II found that many errors occur in these later editions, so a revision was started by Phrayā Wisut Suriyasak (or Čhao Phrayā Phra Sadet Surēnthrāthibodī in a later period) under the royal patronage of King Rama V. He accomplished only the first 6 samut thai and had them reprinted in 1913. A revision of the whole text was done in the reign of King Rama VI by the Vajirañān National Library Committee, and the complete version of the Inao of King Rama II was printed in 1921. Later editions are the copies of this one.

There is one manuscript copy of the Inao of King Rama II in the India Office Library, London. It was well written, possibly by a royal secretary, but the writing is much rubbed by time. This manuscript consists of 56 openings. The incidents begin from Panyī's second journey to Manyā until Bussinā's death and the offering of two princesses and one prince to Panyī. In this manuscript, there is a date put down as Wednesday, the 13th day of the waxing moon, ninth month, the year of the tiger, the 10th year of the decade, which suggests that this particular samut thai had been used before. The date mentioned above could correspond to 1818 or 1878, but the script style of this date entry with reference to Čhao

Phrayā Čhakrī, the Chief Minister, is consistent with the earlier date. The script style of the text, however, is more consistent with the later date, perhaps late nineteenth century.

Comparing the India Office Library manuscript with the printed text of 1949 edition,<sup>(1)</sup> it is seen that they are not much different in orthographic style. Lexical variants occur in 104 places and syntactic variants in 44 places. Variations involving the structural rhyme can be found in 27 places. Cantos 46 and 49 in the manuscript are not only different from the printed text in syntactic forms but also in length. However, the rhyme<sup>(2)</sup> match again towards the end of the canto. Below is an example of such a variant involving the structural rhyme:

### Canto 46

(2)

The India Office Library Manuscript:

mu'a nan  
(At that time)

panyī mī sak sūng song  
(Panyī who is of high dignity)

sadet čhāk thaen suwan bančhong  
(Leaves the beautiful golden seat)

---

(1) See: Appendix III.  
(2) Opening 22.



pai chamra sa song sākḥōn  
(And goes to take a bath)  
(1)

sōt sai khru'ang phichai songkhram  
(He wears a war costume)

sa-ngā ngām dang rācha kraisōn  
(And looks graceful, like the king  
of lions)

taeng yāng chāopā phanādōn  
(He dresses up as a forester)

kum krit ritthirōn samrap mū'  
(And holds the mighty kris in  
his hand)

(2)

The printed text:

mu'a nan  
(At that time)

misāra panyī sukārā  
(Misāra Panyī Sukārā)

chu'ng sa song song khru'ang murathā  
(Takes a royal ceremonial bath)

tām tamrā ronarong yongyut  
(In accordance with the treatise  
on the art of warfare)

banḥong song sōt sanapphlao  
(He carefully wears the tight-fitting drawers)

phūsā nung nuang nao mai lu'an lut  
(And wears the nether garment  
firmly)

(1) The expression is a technical one, implying an appropriate costume for victorious war. It does not conflict with his actual dress as a forester.

(2) Rama II, King, Inao, p. 129.

chalōng-ong krō suwan kan āwut  
 (Then the upper garment of golden armour  
 to protect him from all weapons)

čhiarabāt phātphut phanarāi  
 (The waist-band is beautiful and  
 glittering)

tāp-thit thapsuang duang kudan  
 (The tāp-thit and the pendant are in the pattern  
 of four-petal flowers placed in sequence)

khāt khemkhat rat man krasan sāi  
 (He tightens the belt)

sangwān pradap thapthim phrāi  
 (The sangwān is adorned with glowing rubies)

thōngkōn čhamlak lāi longyā  
 (The bangles are carved and overlaid  
 with enamel)

thammarong khā mu'ang ru'ang rayap  
 (The rings worth the city's value are glittering)

tāt phap phan phōk kēsā  
 (He folds the tāt and wraps it  
 round his head)

taeng pen chen chāo aranyawā  
 (He dresses up as a forester)

kum krit ritthā samrap mū'  
 (And holds the mighty kris in  
 his hand) (1)

There is another manuscript copy of the Inao  
 of King Rama II in the possession of the Royal Asiatic  
 Society. It comprises the incidents after Panyī (Inao) has  
 killed King Bussinā in a fight near Mt. Parāpī. He leads

---

(1) Untranslated technical terms in this quoted  
 passage: tāp-thit, sangwān and tāt are explained in Chapter IV.

his army towards Manyā, taking along two princesses and one prince given by King Pakamā-ngan and King Pancharākan who becomes his vassals. He enters Manyā and succeeds in winning his first love's hand. There is no information on the date of copying but the script is possibly of the early twentieth century. This manuscript consists of 54 openings and it was written with white steatite pencil, except for the first opening where the copyist's name — Khun Phinit Sōrasak — was put down with yellow orpiment. The title of the Royal Asiatic Society manuscript mentions the nature of the major incident. The particular book was No. 6 and the link point with Inao is close to this, taking place towards the end of Book 5 of the printed text.

In comparing the above manuscript with the printed version, we find that the incidents develop in the same way, but there are some striking differences which can be marked:

a) A forest description in the manuscript (Opening 12-13) reveals the use of wordplay without expressing the emotion of the traveller (Inao), while in the printed text flowers of different kinds in that forest remind him of his distant love.

b) The printed text contains descriptions of the inhabitants of Manyā who are frightened by Panyī's army. They do not exist in the manuscript, but occur twice

in the printed text (cantos 32 and 39).

c) The preparation of the army is described in more detail in the manuscript than in the printed text.

On the other hand, the names of all major participants are identical (except a very small number of minor lexical differences) both in Inao (printed text) and the Royal Asiatic Society manuscript.

An example of a minor lexical difference, not involving the structural rhyme, between the manuscript and the printed text is given below.

### Canto 2

(1)

The Royal Asiatic Society manuscript:

thu'ng thī haeng dai kasēm suk  
(Wherever the landscape is pleasant)

saen sanuk duai thān lae khao yai  
(With a stream and a high mountain)

kō hai tang prathap phlapphlā chai  
(He orders a pavilion to be built)

long wai klai choeng khīrī  
(Near the foot of the mountain)

wang čha hai sōng nāng sawāng sōk  
(He wants to lessen the grief of the two princesses)

thī wiyōk prayūn mārasi  
(In being separated from their families)

thang ăa ao raeng phon yōthī  
(And to bring energy to the soldiers)

mi hai mī du'at-rōn winyā  
(So that none of them will be  
distressed)

(1)

The printed text:

thu'ng thī haeng nu'ng kasēm suk  
(Reaching a pleasant landscape)

saen sanuk thān thā chalā lai  
(Where there is a running stream)

phra sang hai yut yang tang thap chai  
(He orders the army to stop and camp)

thī rōm mai klai noen khīrī  
(In the shade near the foot of  
the mountain)

wang ăa hai sōng nāng khōi sāng sōk  
(He wants to lessen the grief of the two princesses)

su'ng wiyōk wongsā mārasi  
(In being separated from their  
families)

thang ao raeng rīphon montri  
(And to bring energy to the soldiers)

hai khlāikhli lālu'ai nu'ai mā  
(So that they will recover from  
tiredness)

In this case, it is noteworthy that the rhyme-  
types in the structural rhyme are identical throughout,  
though the choice of words produces minor lexical differences.

---

(1) Rama II, King, Inao, p. 154.

In the former case of the comparative example of the India Office Library manuscript and the printed text, a similar close lexical and rhyme-type resemblance cannot be shown but the printed text obviously represents a natural extension of the sense of the simpler manuscript version. It should be noted that the same essential features of content are present in both texts and this is especially marked by the similarity of the final line.

There is no indication on the evidence of differences of these kinds that the Royal Asiatic Society manuscript and the India Office Library manuscript belong to different traditions. They belong to the same manuscript tradition of which the most complete exemplar is the Rama II text.

## CHAPTER III

THE OVERALL D.- I. STRUCTURE  
AND  
FUNDAMENTAL VARIATIONS

Examining the contents of D. (Dālang) and I. (Inao), one will find that the preliminary feature which both have in common is the setting of the four states — Kurēpan, Dāhā, Kālang and Singhatsārī.

## The Setting

These states are created at the same time by divine power as mentioned briefly in D. and related in detail in I.. The divine ancestor of the four kings is called by the same name — Patārakālā. The other identical

---

(1) Rama I, King, Dālang, Bangkok, 1956, p. 1.

(2) Rama II, King, Inao, Bangkok, 1949, pp. 139-40.

The story can be summed up as follows:

An ancient Javanese state called Manyā once happened to meet a calamity of famine after the mystic appearance of a khan (short sword) and a banner upon the court terrace. Nobody on earth but the four gods from Mt. Krailāt (Kailāsa) who transformed themselves into human beings could repair the disastrous situation by pulling off the khan and the banner. The ruler then married his daughters to the four gods and also offered them half of the state as a reward. The gods refused to stay in Manyā. They took the princesses to their earthly realms which they created and ruled apart. Their descendants, therefore, were known as the members of the Divine Race.

mentions concerning these states are found in the ranks of the queens of each ruler — Pramaisurī, Madēwī, Matō, Likū and Maolā-ngī; the ranks of the chief courtiers — Pāteh, Tamma-ngong, Damang and Yāsā; the retainers of a Crown prince — Yarudeh, Pūntā, Karatālā and Prasantā; and the ladies-in-waiting of a princess — Bāyan, Sā-nget, Pra-sēran and Palā-ngan.

Numerous neighbouring states are introduced into both poems. The following are identical in names though variant in incidents involved:

#### 1. Bālī

(1)

In D., this state becomes subject to the heroine while wandering, after having been transformed into a man, in search of the hero. It serves as a temporary accommodation where the heroine gets possession of a princess sent as the tribute by the ruler, and also a number of sailing ships for further journeys.

(2)

In I., the ruler lends a number of sailing ships to the hero who wanders in disguise in search of the heroine.

#### 2. Pramōtan

(3)

In D., the ruler is frightened by the hero's

---

(1) pp. 611-23, 710-11, 835-39.  
 (2) pp. 590-92.  
 (3) pp. 687-88.



power and pays tribute to him as a vassal.

(1)

In I., this state plays a part of importance concerning the heroine's life. She spends some time there as the adopted son of the ruler. She is disguised as a man and the ruler does not know her real identity. A war breaks out in this state during her absence, because the ruler refuses to send the prince and princesses in her possession to their fathers who come to claim them back. The hero gives military assistance to Pramōtan as being asked for and, after gaining a victory, renders peace to it. The kings of the Divine Race regard the ruler of Pramōtan as the heroine's benefactor and invite him to her marriage.

### 3. Pakamā-ngan

(2)

In D., it becomes subject to the hero. The ruler sends his daughter to the hero as a tribute.

(3)

In I., The ruler of this state, after the death of his brother in a fight with the hero, decides to be a vassal and sends his daughter and son to the hero.

### 4. Pancharākan

(4)

In D., the hero takes the ruler's daughter by

---

(1) pp. 564-71, 1066-79.

(2) pp. 139-48.

(3) pp. 139-46.

(4) pp. 105-25.

force, because she looks like his first love whose death makes him wander in grief. The ruler is furious at first, but after knowing the hero's identity he willingly accepts him as the son-in-law and appoints him to be the second king of Pancharākan.

(1)

In I., the hero gets possession of this state at the same time as Pakamā-ngan; he also gets the ruler's daughter.

### 5. Ma-ngādā

(2)

In D., it is the hero's secret enemy. The ruler tries to rid the hero by inviting him to uproot a magic octagonal pillar on a neighbouring land. The soldiers of Ma-ngādā accompany the hero in the ship and try to drown him on the way back, but he survives. His brother takes revenge for him by attacking Ma-ngādā and killing the ruler, but refuses to accept the latter's daughter offered by the queen.

(3)

In I., its ruler plans to get rid of the hero during his stay in Kālang. He sends four prisoners to kidnap the hero. By mistake, they kidnap the heroine's brother and take him to Ma-ngādā. The ruler puts the captive in prison, but his daughter who falls in love with the captive secretly

---

(1) pp. 139-46.

(2) pp. 158-88, 199-214.

(3) pp. 869-83, 911-5, 948-73.

releases him and accompanies him to Kālang. A fight between the ruler of Ma-ngādā and the heroine's brother occurs. The ruler of Ma-ngādā is defeated and made prisoner, but finally released. He becomes subject to the heroine's brother.

### 6. Lāsam

(1)

In D., it is another state which becomes subject to the hero's brother during his journey in disguise to search for the hero. He kills the ruler of this state in a fight, but refuses to accept the latter's daughter offered by the queen.

(2)

In I., it is subject to the heroine, while she is wandering in disguise. She gets the ruler's daughter as a tribute.

(3)

There is a state in D. called Burā-ngan, subject to the heroine when she wanders as a man by name of Misā  
(4)  
Pramangkuning, but Burā-ngan in I. is a frontier town in the territory of Dāhā and is once conquered by the ruler of Kamangkuning.

---

(1) pp. 216-32.

(2) p. 619.

(3) p. 444.

(4) pp. 286-90.

Slight differences between D. and I. are noticeable in the following names, but each pair probably points to the same state.

### 1. Pataram, Patāram

(1)

In D., the ruler of Pataram has a daughter who marries the hero by the help of a tree-god. After a short stay with her, the hero leaves this state and wanders in search of the heroine. His consort gives birth to a son later.

(2)

In I., the ruler of Patāram becomes subject to the heroine in disguise, sending her tribute.

### 2. Panansalat, Pamansalat

(3)

In D., Panansalat becomes subject to the heroine. The ruler's daughter is sent to her as tribute.

(4)

In I., Pamansalat is subject to the hero. The ruler acknowledges his suzerainty in a war and gives him his daughter as tribute.

### 3. Sačha-u-nū, Sačha-nū

(5)

In D., Sačha-u-nū is mentioned twice in different

---

(1) pp. 452-9, 550-5, 651-4.

(2) pp. 616-8.

(3) p. 444.

(4) p. 339.

(5) a) pp. 131-7; b) p. 444.

episodes:

a) It is subject to the hero who kills the ruler and the Crown prince in a war. The Crown prince's betrothed is married to the hero.

b) It is subject to the heroine, and the ruler sends his daughter to her as tribute.

(1)

In I., Saĉha-nū is mentioned as another vassal to the heroine. She gets possession of the ruler's son.

#### 4. Manyāpā-et, Manyā

(2)

In D., Manyāpā-et is a state which the hero visits in disguise as a dalang (shadow-play master) while searching for the heroine, his brother and his cousin. He is invited to rule this state after the deaths of its ruler and the Crown prince. He marries the latter's sister and begets another son by her.

(3)

In I., Manyā plays a very important part in relation to the Divine Race. The former ruler has three daughters. The eldest daughter is King Kurēpan's chief queen and the hero's mother. The second daughter is King Dāhā's chief queen and the heroine's mother. The youngest stays in Manyā as the chief queen of the present ruler

---

(1) p. 619.

(2) pp. 558-79, 679-80.

(3) pp. 8-24, 1080.

who is of a non-divine lineage. She is the mother of the hero's first love who finally becomes his chief queen.

There are many other minor states related to the hero and the heroine as their subjects, with differences in names and incidents. All indicate the individual power of these two leading characters as warriors.

The table below illustrates the relationship between the hero, the heroine and the subordinates as far as mentioned in D. and I..

<u>D.</u>		<u>I.</u>	
<u>Hero</u>	<u>Heroine</u>	<u>Hero</u>	<u>Heroine</u>
Pakamā-ngan (vassal, giving a daughter)	Bālī (vassal, giving a daughter)	Bālī (vassal)	Pramōtan (adopted by the ruler)
Pataram (related by marriage)	Pramōtan (vassal)	Pakamā-ngan (vassal, giving a daughter and a son)	Patāram (vassal)
Pancharākan (related by marriage)	Panansalat (vassal, giving a daughter)	Pancharākan (vassal, giving a daughter)	Lāsam (vassal, giving a daughter)

D.

<u>Hero</u>	<u>Heroine</u>
Sačha-u-nū (vassal)	Sačha-u-nū (vassal, giving a daughter)
Manyāpā-et (related by marriage)	Kalēmang (vassal)
Kralambā-ngan (vassal)	Kalanbumī (vassal)
Nusātan (related by marriage)	Burang-ngā (vassal)
Tra-sē (vassal)	Burā-ngan (vassal)
Bānulan (vassal)	Busunā (vassal)
Mongkon (conquered, ruled by his son later on)	Pratāhon (vassal)
Sarūtan (vassal)	Pamā-sē (vassal, giving a daughter)

I.

<u>Hero</u>	<u>Heroine</u>
Pamansalat (vassal, giving a daughter)	Sačha-nū (vassal, giving a daughter)
Manyā (related by marriage)	Chamārā (vassal)
Kapā-ngan (vassal, giving two sons)	Burātanyong (vassal, giving a son)
Kapālan (vassal)	Wala-ngit (vassal, giving two daughters)
Kamangkuning (vassal)	Sattakan (vassal, giving a daughter)
Kurabumī (vassal, giving a daughter)	
Tamā-sē (vassal, giving a son and a daughter)	
Tanyongburā (vassal)	

D.HeroHeroine

Pančhakusunā  
(vassal,  
giving a  
daughter)

Morakatsurū  
(vassal)

Malā-ngit  
(vassal,  
giving a  
daughter)

Malārā  
(vassal)

Sačha-u-rī  
(vassal)

Sārat  
(vassal)

Singharābulā  
(vassal,  
giving a  
daughter)

I.HeroHeroine

Tiwang-ngan  
(vassal)

Bussinā  
(vassal)

Pakūwan  
(vassal)

Patālang  
(vassal,  
giving a  
daughter)

Patālam  
(vassal,  
giving two  
daughters)

Pāyang  
(vassal,  
giving a  
daughter)

Malakā  
(vassal)

Wala-ngit  
(vassal,  
giving a  
son)



<u>D.</u>	<u>I.</u>
<u>Hero</u>	<u>Heroine</u>
	<u>Hero</u>
	<u>Heroine</u>
	Wangkan (vassal, giving a daughter)
	Samarang (vassal, giving three sons)
	Santara (vassal)

There are some relationships between the other  
Theendants and minor states :

<u>D.</u>	<u>I.</u>
<u>The hero's brother</u>	<u>The heroine's brother</u>
Ma-ngada (vassal, giving a daughter)	Ma-ngada (vassal, giving a daughter)
Marayakatyuli (vassal, giving a daughter)	
Lasam (vassal, giving a daughter)	
Suranmarayū (vassal, giving a daughter)	

The Dālang of King Rama I and the Inao of King Rama II are of great length, approximately 19,500 lines in Dālang and 22,000 lines in Inao. These two poems seem to be rather complex in structure at first sight, but the basic plots revealed by analysis appear to have clearly stateable resemblances. From the historical point of view, it might have seemed more logical to introduce comparisons of basic plot structure between Dālang and the Inao of King Rama I, then to introduce the text of King Rama II. However, the basic structure of the Inao of King Rama I does not possess any features which do not occur in that of King Rama II. The former text is, of course, merely a fragment. Features of the stages and links set out below which also occur in the Inao of King Rama I are marked thus (I.R.1). To compare Dālang and Inao is therefore to set side by side the polar points of the Panji tradition in Thailand.

#### Plot Structure Common To Dālang And Inao

##### Stage 1:

The betrothal between the hero and the heroine without their having met. (I.R.1)

The hero loves a daughter of a less exalted family. (I.R.1)

He stays with his first love and refuses to

marry his betrothed. (I.R.1)

Link:

The hero and his first love are separated by events. (I.R.1)

Stage 2:

The hero meets the heroine in her state and falls in love with her.

The heroine is betrothed to a ruler of a minor state who asks for her hand, and the arrangements for their marriage are made. The hero devises ways to win her from his rival and he is successful.

Link:

The hero and the heroine are separated by events.

Stage 3:

The hero and the heroine conceal their identities and both have adventures as wandering warriors. (I.R.1)

The hero becomes an ascetic for a short time while searching for the heroine. (I.R.1)

Because of the spell of their divine ancestor,

they meet each other without recognition. The hero follows the heroine who is dressed up as a man to Kālang, trying to find out her real identity, while the ruler does not recognise them.

(1)  
The heroine leaves Kālang and becomes a nun.

The hero follows.

The divine spell ends. They recognise each other and the hero takes the heroine back to Kālang.

#### Stage 4:

The other three kings of the Divine Race are informed of the reunion in Kālang.

#### Fundamental Variations

Although Dālang and Inao have the basic overall structure in common, variations occur in minor incidents and detailed descriptions. For example, the relations among members of the Divine Race:

---

(1) She becomes a female ascetic in company with former ladies-in-waiting. They live in retreat in the forest. The term 'nun' is here used for these women in this condition, especially for the heroine.

D.

Kurēpan: 2 sons — Inao and  
his half-brother  
Čharang Kanangloh.

Dāhā: 2 daughters — Busbā  
Kāloh and her half-  
sister Busbā Wilit.

Inao is betrothed to  
Busbā Kāloh, and Čharang  
Kanangloh to Busbā Wilit.

Kālang: 2 daughters and 1  
son — Busbā Ākong,  
her half-sister Busbā  
Ranā and her half-  
brother Sirikan.

Singhatsārī: 2 sons — Čhintara  
Wannā and his half-  
brother Čhindā Sārī

Čhintara Wannā is  
betrothed to Busbā Ākong,

I.

Kurēpan: 2 sons and 1 daughter  
— Inao, his half-  
brother Karattapātī  
and his sister Wiyadā.

Dāhā: 1 daughter and 1 son —  
Busbā Nu'ng Rat and her  
brother Sīyatrā Nu'ng Rat

Inao is betrothed to  
Busbā Nu'ng Rat, and Wiyadā  
to Sīyatrā Nu'ng Rat.

Kālang: 2 daughters — Sakāra  
Nu'ng Rat and her  
half-sister Busbā Rākā.

Singhatsārī: 1 son and 1  
daughter — Surānākong  
and his sister Čhindā  
Sārī.

Surānākong is betrothed  
to Sakāra Nu'ng Rat, and Karat-

an

D.I.

and Čhindā Sārī to Busbā Ranā. | tapātī to Busbā Rākā.

The disparity in principal events between Dālang and Inao can also be seen in every stage and link.

### Stage 1

D.

In spite of being betrothed to the heroine, the hero has a minor wife during his adolescence.

The hero's first love is a daughter of a forester. She lives with her widowed mother in the forest where the hero goes hunting and meets her.

The hero stays with his first love in his pavilion built in that forest.

I.

There is no mention of the hero's minor wife during his adolescence.

The hero's first love is a princess of a non-divine lineage. But she is related to him as his cousin. The cremation of their royal grandmother in her state is the cause of their meeting.

After being called back to his state at his sister's birth, the hero makes a secret journey in disguise to the state of his first love. On

D.

Neither the journey in disguise nor the fight occurs.

I.

the way, three minor states become his vassals after he has killed one of their rulers in a fight. He gets possession of two princesses and one prince given by the other two rulers who acknowledge his identity. At the state of his first love, he succeeds in asking for her hand and stays with her in her palace.

Link

D.

By the command of the hero's father, his first love is killed during his absence.

Anguished at her death, the hero wanders in disguise and has many adventures dealing with new loves and heroism.

I.

The divine ancestor causes a war to break out at the state of the heroine and thus punishes the hero for his inconsiderate behaviour, because the hero has to leave his first love and perform his duty as a warrior of the Divine Race.

D.

He accidentally arrives at the state of the heroine.

Stage 2

D.

The hero visits the state of the heroine in disguise and make himself popular as a dālang. He has audience with the king and meets her while he is performing the shadow-play through which he pays secret visits to her several times later on. She does not know his identity and is very much annoyed.

The hero acquires the knowledge of magic and murders his rival who is due to marry the heroine.

I.

Neither disguise nor adventure occurs.

I.

After winning a victory over the enemy, the hero visits the state of the heroine as a rescuer. The heroine is introduced to him. He falls in love with her and gives up the thought of returning to his first love.

The heroine's brother helps the hero to get in touch with her.

The hero causes disturbance to the heroine and his rival. On her wedding day, he causes a tumult to occur in the city and kidnaps her from the palace. He takes her to a cave which has been already decorated for him.



## Link

D.

The heroine has to burn herself on the funeral pyre. She is rescued by the divine ancestor, and disappears.

I.

While the hero leaves the cave for the state of the heroine to clear himself of all suspicions, she disappears in a storm caused by the divine ancestor.

## Stage 3

D.

The heroine is transformed into a man by divine power. The ancestor tells her that she will be retransformed into her real identity when she meets the hero with recognition. Several minor states become her vassals.

The hero searches for the heroine in disguise. His brother and his cousin accompany him at first, but they are separated later on.

I.

The heroine disguises herself as a man. A ruler of a minor state adopts her as his son. Then she wanders, accompanied by an army, in search of the hero. Her power is acknowledged by several rulers of minor states.

The hero takes his sister from the state of the heroine so as to provide her with a companion. The loss of the heroine whelms him with grief.

D.

The hero marries some princesses of minor states and begets two sons.

The heroine journeys through a city where the hero stays as the ruler, and visits Kālang. The hero follows to Kālang in disguise as a man with feminine manners so that he can visit her in the palace without being forbidden. She recognises him to be her betrothed, and the divine spell ends.

The heroine escapes from Kālang after being magically retransformed into

I.

The hero, his sisters and all the followers disguise themselves as foresters and wander to search for the heroine. The latter's brother, also in disguise, joins them later on.

The hero and the heroine meet each other in the forest without recognition.

They meet again in Kālang and join as allies in a war.

Being afraid that her identity may be revealed, the heroine leaves Kālang and lives

D.

her real identity. The hero follows and finds her living as a nun in the forest. They stay together in a pavilion built by the hero's soldiers.

I.

in retreat as a nun. The hero takes her back to Kālang and finally discovers that she is his long lost beloved. (The recognition occurs through a shadow-play performance arranged by his retainer.)

## Stage 4

D.

The hero's brother sends messages to the other three kings of the Divine Race, informing them of the reunion in Kālang.

The extant poem stops before the marriage episode.

I.

The heroine's brother sends messages about the reunion to the three god-created states.

The three kings visit Kālang and arrange the inter-marriage. The hero's first love and the heroine are his chief queens.

A detailed comparison follows between the plot structures of Dālang and Inao and those of versions of Panji tales whose proximate source is the Malay Peninsula

and which have been translated into Thai. References to the titles of these versions are being made in abbreviations:

D. — for the Dālang of King Rama I.

I. — for the Inao of King Rama II.

A.N. — for the version of Ari Nagara, entirely in prose, originally written in middle Javanese. It was translated into Malay in a later period, then from Malay into Thai in 1918-49 by Khun Nikorn Kānprakit (bin Abdullah) <sup>(1)</sup> for Prince Damrong Rajanubhab.

H.P.K.S. — for Hikayat Pandji Koeda Semirang, <sup>(2)</sup> a Dutch version translated from Malay by Dr. Poerbatjaraka. The original version was composed in middle Javanese.

There is a summary of this tale in Thai by Prince Dhani Nivat in Wičhān Ru'ang Khaomūn Nithān Inao Khōng Thai. <sup>(3)</sup>

Another summary in English was done by Sir Richard Winstedt <sup>(4)</sup> in A Panji Tale From Kelantan.

(1) It was written by hand on foolscap papers, now kept in the custody of Prince Damrong's Library, Bangkok. There are 405 pages altogether, each page containing 17 lines.

(2) See: R.M.Ng. Dr. Poerbatjaraka, Pandji-Verhalen Onderling Vergelehen, Bandoeng, 1940.

(3) It was first published in 1941. See: Dhani Nivat, H.H. Prince, Prawat Thāo Wōračhan Lae Wičhān Ru'ang Khaomūn Nithān Inao Khōng Thai, Bangkok, 1941, pp. 71-104.

(4) See: Richard Winstedt, Sir, 'A Panji Tale From Kelantan', J.M.B.R.A.S., Vol. XXII, Pt. 1, Singapore, 1949, pp. 53-60.

S.S. — for a Panji tale summarized in Thai  
(1)  
by Prince Damrong Rajanubhab in Sān Somdet, Part 1.

P.S. — for Panji Semirang. This version was  
originally written in Javanese, later on translated into  
Malay, then translated into Thai by Prince Nakhōn Sawan  
(2)  
Wōraphinit in 1938 and summarized by Prince Narisarānuwat-  
(3)  
tiwong in the same year.

### Stage 1

Similarities can be found between D. and I. on  
account of the hero's birth.

a) His position: he is the Crown prince of  
Kurēpan born to the chief queen.

b) The chief queen's dream before conception:  
the sun falls down into her arms.

c) Peculiar phenomena prior to the hero's  
birth: earthquake, thunderstorm, heavy rains, gloomy sun  
amidst fog and clouds, etc.

d) The court seer's prediction: the chief  
queen is going to have a son whose power and suzerainty

---

(1) See: Damrong Rajanubhab, H.R.H. Prince and Narisa-  
ranuwattiwong, H.R.H. Prince, Sān Somdet, Bangkok, 1951,  
pp. 148-54.

(2) See: Nakhōn Sawan Wōraphinit, H.R.H. Prince, Inao,  
Bangkok, 1950, 193 pp.

(3) See: Narisarānuwattiwong, H.R.H. Prince, Banthu'k  
Ru'ang Khwāmru Tāngtāng, Vol.II, Bangkok, 1963, pp.184-9.

will be acknowledged by all other Javanese kings. Her son is fated to be away from Kurēpan at the age of fourteen. After long years he will return and become a far-famed king with ten queens.

e) The gift from Patārakālā, the divine ancestor: a kris upon which the name 'Inao' has been carved.

The mention of the heroine's birth amidst the fragrance of blooming flowers occurs in both D. and I., but variations are found on account of the other princes and princesses of the Divine Race. The mention of King Kurēpan's first son born to the fourth queen in I. shows some resemblance to A.N.. This prince is known as Karattapātī in I. and Kertapuna in A.N.. The hero's name 'Inao' and his half-brother's name 'Karattapātī' in I. probably derive from 'Inao Kertapati' in A.N., the latter being used as the hero's name. The hero's elder half-brother is mentioned in H.P.K.S., but his mother is the second queen and his name is Brajadanta. However, the mention of King Kurēpan paying offerings to the tutelary deity of the city and asking for a son to be born to his chief queen as found in I. is comparable to that in H.P.K.S..

Charang Kanangloh in D. who is the hero's younger half-brother born to the second queen appears in H.P.K.S. as Charang Tinangluh, the hero's younger brother

born to the chief queen. He also appears in A.N. as Jarang Tanangloh.

In I., the hero has a younger sister called Wiyadā. This princess is mentioned in H.P.K.S. and A.N. but the names are different: Ratna Wilis in the former and Kusuma Galoh in the latter.

The betrothal during childhood between the hero and the heroine occurs in every version except that in S.S..

The heroine's name in the Thai versions begins with 'Busbā': Busbā Kāloh in D. and Busbā Nu'ng Rat in I.. The hero's first love is known as Busbā Sārī in D. but Čhintarā Wātī in I. We find Busbā Nu'ng Rat exist in P.S. as the name of the chief queen of Dāhā. The heroine in P.S. is called Tjendera Kirana, in A.N. Čhintara Kiran and in H.P.K.S. Galoh Čandra Kirana.

The mention of the heroine's younger half-sister in D. is comparable to P.S. but the names are different: Busbā Wilit in D., but Galoh Adjoeng in P.S.. Moreover, the former is born to the second queen but the latter is born to the fourth queen.

The heroine in I. has a younger brother called Siyatrā Nu'ng Rat. This prince is also mentioned in H.P.K.S. and A.N. but the names are different: Perbata Sari in H.P.K.S.

but Kunung Sari in A.N.. The name Sīyatrā in I. probably derives from Kalana Siyata Kamara which is the name of Jarang Tanangloh in disguise in A.N..

The mention of the betrothal between the heroine's younger brother and the hero's younger sister in I. can be compared with those in A.N. and H.P.K.S..

The mention of King Kālang having two daughters and one son in D. is the same as in A.N., but variations occur on the part of their mothers. In D., the elder princess is born to the chief queen, the younger to the second queen and the prince to the fourth queen. In A.N., all of them are born to the chief queen. The name of the elder princess in D. — Busbā Ākong — is comparable to Ratna Kumuda Agong in H.P.K.S.. King Kālang's two daughters appear in I., but there is no mention of his son.

In D., King Singhatsārī has two sons, the elder by his chief queen and the younger by his second queen. In I. which is comparable to A.N., he has one son and one daughter by his chief queen. The betrothal between the Crown prince of Singhatsārī and the princess of Kālang, both born to the chief queen, occurs in the Thai versions.

Āchintarā Wātī in I. who is the hero's first love and related to him as his cousin can be compared with Kusuma Āchintara in A.N., yet there is a difference between



state-names. In I. she is the princess of Manyā, but in A.N. she is the princess of Bālī.

There is a remarkable similarity between D. and H.P.K.S. in the episode of the hero's first love. She is a commoner whom the hero meets in the forest while going on a hunt. It is not a co-incidence but an action of Karma and a predestination. Their meeting and their love lead to her piteous death, a punishment for the sin committed in her previous life. It is described in detail in H.P.K.S. that in a former life she was a Bidadari<sup>(1)</sup> (Vidyādhari) named Anggar<sup>(2)</sup> and had a lover called Deva Jaya Sokma. The Supreme Deity was displeased at knowing about such an inappropriate behaviour. The Bidadari and her lover were driven from heaven to be reborn on earth and were destined to be killed in their new existence. The Bidadari is born as the only daughter of the chief of a rural district, while the Deva becomes a demon living in Sila Mengilang, a cave in Mertapura forest. The hero's first love in D. was also a heavenly female<sup>(3)</sup> in her previous life and she is reborn as a peasant girl living with her widowed mother and a loyal slave.

Only a slight difference between D. and H.P.K.S.

---

(1) A heavenly female.

(2) A heavenly male.

(3) Her previous demerit is not cited in detail. There is no mention of the Deva or any comparable heavenly male.

In D., the hero stays with his first love in the forest; in H.P.K.S., he takes her to his palace.

This episode in I. contains different incidents. The hero goes to a royal cremation at Manyā where he meets his first love (the ruler's daughter). His parents call him back to Kurēpan. He escapes from the forthcoming marriage between him and the heroine, using the hunting game as a device of leaving Kurēpan, and makes a secret journey towards Manyā in disguise. In the forest, he gets involved in a fight with King Bussinā whom he finally slays. The King's brothers become the hero's vassals and gives him two daughters and one son, while the widowed queen of Bussinā burns herself to death. The hero moves his troops on until he reaches his destination. There he is met with a warm welcome and stays with his first love. The themes of the hero breaking his marriage, pretending to go on a hunt, and winning his cousin's hand are comparable to A.N.. A slight difference is found in the fighting episode: in A.N. it takes place when the hero travels<sup>(1)</sup> back to Kurēpan with his first love after marrying her. However, the name of the hostage prince — Sangkhāmāratā — in I. is close to Sangkhādārapā in A.N..

---

(1) The 'disguise' theme does not exist in this episode.

## Link

D. contains a tragic event — the execution of the hero's first love, by the command of King Kurēpan who discovers that she is the cause of the hero's distraction from his betrothed. The death of her loyal slave who wishes to accompany her to another world, the hero's grief when he returns from the hunt and sees his beloved's body, and the sudden death of her widowed mother are very well described in this episode. There is a similar theme in H.P.K.S.: death separates the peasant girl from the hero. However, in D. the executioner is a minister sent by King Kurēpan, but in H.P.K.S. the hero's mother murders his first love while he is away on a hunt. The death theme is also parallel to the story in S.S. which runs that all the royal people in Kurēpan, Dāhā, Kālang and Singhatsārī are of the same opinion that the hero should marry the princess of Dāhā, in order to preserve the Divine Race and combine these god-created states into one. At that time the hero has already married the chief minister's daughter who is his first love, and he refuses to betray her for the sake of political convenience. His relatives in Kurēpan, therefore, carry out a plan to murder her. Knowing that she is in the way of her husband's prosperous future, the girl commits suicide.

The disguise theme appears in D. after the peasant girl's death. The hero wanders as a forester called Panyī. His close retainer accompanies him everywhere. He meets new loves and has many adventures. For example, he takes the princess of Pancharākan by force and nearly gets involved in a fight with her father. Being informed of the hero's real identity, her father agrees to give him her hand. The princess of Pancharākan is mentioned in Stage 1 in I. as one of the hostage princesses. Though the incidents differ, the reason why King Pancharākan gives her to the hero is comparable between these two texts.

King Ma-ngādā appears in both D. and I., though in different episodes, as an envious person who fails to get rid of the hero.

The theme of Nusātan, the City of Women, where the hero visits after shipwreck and becomes the ruler by marrying the queen occurs in D. only. This incident does not occur in any of the Malay versions known in Thailand.

There is a divine intervention in D.: Patarakālā rescues the hero from danger caused by King Ma-ngādā, and inspires him to wander towards Dāhā so that he will meet his betrothed. The divine intervention in I. is of different purpose: Patarakālā separates the hero from his love as a punishment for his inappropriate behaviour. The hero has to

perform his duty as a warrior. The war theme in this episode is comparable to A.N. except for divine participation and variations in character-names.

## Stage 2

In D. the shadow-play is used by the hero in disguise as a device of approach to his betrothed. By divine intervention during a night performance, the hero who is manipulating the hide-figures has a chance to see her for the first time. His furtive visits to her apartment in the following nights, his failure in courting her, her decision to elope with him after knowing about the arranged marriage between her and a king of a minor state, the hero's magic study and the death of her suitor occur in D. but not in I..

The shadow-play theme exists in A.N. and is partly similar to D.: after seeing and falling in love with his betrothed, the hero in A.N. also uses the shadow-play as a device of approach to her. During that time he wins her hand in A.N. but he does not in D..

The story in S.S. is also worth mentioning, as it reveals some plot in common with D.: the hero enters Dāhā in disguise as a dalang. His shadow-play performance

---

(1) Patārakālā transforms himself into a centipede crawling towards the heroine. She screams and a lighted torch is brought in to find the cause of her fright.

leads to the first meeting between him and his betrothed. Mutual love occurs and ends in elopement.

In I., the hero enters Dāhā in his real identity after the war. The royal audience is comparable to A.N.: the Crown prince of Dāhā and the heroine are introduced to the hero who decides to prolong his stay by telling the king that his soldiers need a few days' rest. The theme of the rivals as existing in I. is similar to D.: King Dāhā gets irritated by the hero's disregard for his daughter, and agrees to marry her to a king of a minor state who asks for her hand. Arrangements are made and the suitor comes. But, though the hero puts an end to the marriage celebration, the suitor in I. is not murdered as that in D.. Such a character in I., in fact, take a comic part. Being of ugly appearance and a descendant of a non-divine lineage, he is a butt of contempt and mockery.

The incidents in I. after the first meeting between the hero and his betrothed develop in more romantic and more human aspects if compared with D.. There is no influence of magic. Sīyatrā<sup>(1)</sup>, the heroine's younger brother, plays a prominent role as an innocent little prince, prompt

---

(1) In A.N. and H.P.K.S. the equivalent character to Sīyatrā (see p.84) does not play this prominent role in childhood.

to fulfil every wish of the hero in the matter concerning the heroine. For instance, Siyatrā takes the half-chewed betel nuts from her without her knowing that they serve as a love-token to the hero. He tells the hero not to wear the flower-tassel which was not made by the heroine as King Dāhā commanded. The hero's affection for the heroine is expressed in various ways. His jealousy arises at seeing his rival hugging Siyatra who looks like her. His opportunity to approach her comes when the royal family makes a trip to Mt. Wilismārā to pay offerings to the tutelary deity. He asks Siyatrā to accompany the heroine in the same carriage with the purpose of seeing her closely when he goes to fetch the little prince for a ride in the forest. After having arrived at the destination, he hides himself behind the bushes and watches the heroine swimming in the stream. He sends her insulting letters concerning his rival. He purposely casts a reflection from his kris towards her when she is unaware of his presence. He hides himself in the holy temple where the second queen of Dāhā persuades the heroine to ask the deity about her true partner; he acts as the deity, talking to her in answer, and with the help of Sangkhāmāratā who drives the bats towards the candles to put out all the lights, he caresses her in the dark. While dancing in worship of the deity on the following day, in the presence of all members of royalty, the hero sings

an ambiguous song cursing his rival. Moreover, he accompanies the heroine side by side, pretending to help her in carrying the tray, to the hermitage and joins her in having holy water sprinkled over by the hermit. After a fatal love-sickness, with the help of Sangkhāmārātā, the hero succeeds in breaking the marriage between the heroine and his rival and also in winning her hand. This is where the theme of burning the city and abduction to the cave are woven in, and they occur in I. only.

#### Link

We find divine and magical aspects in D.. The heroine has to burn herself on the pyre of her dead groom. Patārakālā comes to her rescue. He creates a large golden lotus in the middle of the fire and a carriage in the sky. When the heroine and her ladies-in-waiting dash into the fire, the magic lotus protect them from being burnt alive. It floats up immediately, taking them to the carriage and the latter floats away from that place.

In N., the heroine disappears from Dāhā and from the hero at the same time, but in I., she is taken from Dāhā first by the hero and is separated from him afterwards by the divine ancestor. Patārakālā in I. creates a storm which carries the heroine and her ladies-in-waiting away. The purpose of divine intervention in I. is different



from D. in this incident, because it is a punishment on the hero for his incinsiderate doings, so it is linked with the human aspect of the story.

The incident about the heroine and her ladies-in-waiting being carried away by a god-created storm occurs in H.P.K.S. as a punishment on King Dāhā who neglects to make offerings in worship of the tutelary deity. This incident takes place prior to the hero's first wandering in H.P.K.S..

The theme of the deity creating a storm to carry the princess away is found in A.N., but the princess in that version is King Singhatsārī's daughter, not the heroine.

The separation caused by Patārakālā occurs in A.N. and H.P.K.S., but the incidents differ. In A.N. the deity is displeased with the hero who neglects his betrothed at first but endeavours to win her hand afterwards. Therefore, after the hero has won his betrothed's hand and prolonged his stay in Dāhā, the heroine becomes insane under the deity's spell until the hero gets impatient with her and leaves for Kurēpan. In H.P.K.S., the hero marries the heroine while both are in disguise and do not know the real identity of each other. Then the heroine's younger brother, also in disguise, is killed by the hero in a fight. After this tragic incident, the deity carries the heroine

to a foreign land.

### Stage 3

The divine aspect is strong in D.: the heroine is transformed into a powerful man. This is comparable to H.P.K.S.. The heroine in I. only disguises herself as a man and still has feminine manners. The disguise theme in this stage also exists in A.N..

The theme of wandering and search in disguise occurs in both D. and I. as well as in the Malay-Javanese versions. It is another long episode dealing with their meeting without recognition.

The theme of the hero having sons by his minor wives is found in D. and also comparable to A.N.

The theme of the hero following the heroine into Kālang where her real identity is revealed occurs in both D. and I.. There is a similarity between these two versions and H.P.K.S. in the beginning, but the disguised heroine in H.P.K.S. can conceal her identity while staying in Kālang and the recognition occurs later in another state.

The theme of the hero and the heroine joining as allies in a war at Kālang which occurs in I. also occurs in H.P.K.S.

The magical retransformation of the heroine into her real identity which occurs in D. is different from I.. In I., the shadow-play is used as a device of test to clear all doubts in each identity and the hero recognises the heroine.

The nun theme which occurs in both D. and I. also occurs in H.P.K.S.. This theme appears as a device of disguise used by the heroine when she decides to live in retreat in the forest.

#### Stage 4

The story in D. ends at the sending of messages to the royal parents of all the lost princes and princesses, telling them about their reunion in Kālang. This occurs in I. as well as in H.P.K.S. and A.N..

Towards the end of the story in I., we find the marriage in Kālang. The hero's first love is mentioned again as one of his chief queens, side by side with the heroine. The marriage in Kālang after recognition also occurs in A.N..

From the comparison, it is undeniable that D. and I. derive from diverse original sources, but it is not possible to trace clear-cut links between the Thai versions

and one or other of the Malay-Javanese versions known in Thailand. However, H.P.K.S. is found to be generally closer to D. while A.N. is closer to I. because these pairs of texts contain many themes in common as already stated. In D. there are 8 themes similar to H.P.K.S. and 4 themes similar to A.N.. In I. there are 14 themes similar to A.N. and 8 themes similar to H.P.K.S.. So it may be decided in all probability that D. is mainly influenced by sources of the type of H.P.K.S. and I. by sources of the type of A.N.. This does not imply that there are absolute differences between these source types. It is not to be expected that this would be so in the case of so complex a tradition as the Panji cycle. It is also entirely consistent with Thai literary tradition that original sources are subject to a process of adaptation and this is preferred to direct translation which is a rare phenomenon in Thai literature.

## CHAPTER IV

## THE PHYSICAL SETTING

One of the marked characteristics of Dalang and Inao is the naturalization of the background which brings the stories closer to the Thai cultural environment and creates a vivid impression that those imaginary events happened in Thailand. The local setting, especially the royal quarter which was familiar to the court poets, serves as the model for the capital cities of the Divine Race. In the poems we find idealistic descriptions of the fortified wall surrounding the city with crenellated parapets and leaf-shaped merlons on top, the main gates at regular intervals with chōng-kut<sup>(1)</sup> in alternation, the palace outer-wall of battlements identical with those round the city, the throne hall, the king's apartments for the three seasons<sup>(2)</sup>, the apartments of the queens and the concubines, the residences of the lady-attendants, the lawn in front of the royal palace, the garden with flowers in bloom, the lotus pond, the palace of the king's son, the royal temple, the ministerial offices, the royal treasury, the royal secretariat,

---

(1) Small, plain gates built in the wall.

(2) They are:- the hot season, the rainy season and the cold season.

the royal kitchen, the almhouse, the arsenal, the cannon-house, the royal chariot-house, the barge-house, the horse-stables, the elephant-stables and the drum tower. All these features of physical construction existed in Ayuthaya, the former Thai capital, during its glorious days and also in Bangkok in the early Ratanakosin period. The adoption of local scenic elements becomes more obvious in some places where names are cited, such as —

Thinang Song Pū'n on both sides (3)  
Are graceful, glistening and vigourous;

or,

Āchakrawat is lofty in the sky,  
Elegant, adorned with gold. (4)

These named buildings are recognisable as the Thai palace-pavilions in the royal quarter in Ayuthaya. Thinang Song Pū'n refers to Phrathinang Song Pū'n near the lotus pond which surrounded Phrathinang Banyong Ratanāt; it was built in the reign of Somdet Phra Phēt Rāchā (1688-98). Āchakrawat refers to Phrathinang Āchakrawat Phaichayon upon the palace wall for the king to watch the military training

---

(1) See: King Rama I, Dālang, pp. 2-3; King Rama II, Inao, pp. 2-7; King Rama I, Inao, Bangkok, 1917, pp. 1-7.  
(2) See: Phraya Bōran Rāchā Thānin, loc. cit.; H.R.H. Prince Damrong Rajanubhab, Tamnān Wang Nā, Bangkok, 1925, pp. 14, 19; Prachum Phra Rāchā Phongsāwādān Phāk Thī 25, Bangkok, 1922, pp. 4-25.

(3) King Rama I, Inao, p. 4.

(4) Ibid., p. 6.

and the annual procession; it was built in the reign of Somdet Phra Čhao Prāsāt Thōng (1630-55). Since Bangkok in its role of Thai capital was constructed deliberately in imitation of Ayuthaya, some people in the early Ratanakosin period who had been acquainted with the Ayuthaya setting still called Phrathīnang Siwamōk Phimān in Bangkok by the name of Phrathīnang Song Pū'n, because both buildings are identical in the main feature. They also called Sanām Chai, the lawn in front of Phrathīnang Sutthaisawan in Bangkok, by the name of Sanām Nā Čhakrawat, the lawn in front of Phrathīnang Čhakrawat Phaichyon in Ayuthaya for the same reason.

References to local names abound in the Inao of King Rama II, such as —

Lak Mu'ang, the sacred house of the guardian-deity,  
Is renowned and respected by all citizens;  
Sao Chingchā (the sacred swing) and Wat Phrām  
(Brahmin's temple)  
Are built for Brahministic rituals;  
Hō Klōng (the drum tower) is in the middle  
of the city,  
Giving warning if fire or war breaks out;  
Taphān Chāng, the bridge for elephants,  
Is made of bricks and laid over with planks;  
Khlōng Lōt (the canal) stretches forth as far  
as the eye can see. (3)

---

(1) The raised pavilion upon the palace wall.

(2) H.R.H. Prince Damrong Rajanubhab, Tamnan Wang Na, p. 14.

(3) King Rama II, Inao, pp. 4-5.

At present, these places still exist in Bangkok except the drum tower which was demolished in the reign of King Rama V. The tower had been located in Suan Čhao Čhēt near the royal palace. It consisted of three storeys and there was a drum in each. The three drums were called by different names in accordance with their functions: Yam Surisī, Akkhī Phināt and Phikhāt Phairī. Yam Surisī, kept in the first storey, was beaten at sunset as the signal for closing the city-gates. Akkhī Phināt was in the second storey and was used for calling the fire-brigade at the outbreak of fire. Phikhāt Phairī was in the third storey and was used for making signals at war-time to collect military force. Although the tower was pulled down, these drums still remain in the custody of the National Museum, Bangkok.<sup>(1)</sup>

Moreover, there are mentions of Tamnak Phae<sup>(2)</sup> (the royal floating-pavilion), of people from the opposite bank crossing the river to the landing at Thā Čhāng<sup>(3)</sup> (near the royal palace), of the mandarins' wives watching the funeral procession in front of Rōng Khōn<sup>(4)</sup> (the masked-play

---

(1) See: Prachum Phongsāwadān Chabap Hō Phra Samut Haeng Čhāt Phāk Thī 8, Vol. IV, Bangkok, 1964, p. 162; and, Phraya Anuman Rajadhon, Fū'n Khwām Lang, Bangkok, 1965, p. 8.

(2) King Rama II, Inao, p. 3.

(3) Ibid., p. 51.

(4) Ibid.



theatre, near the royal temple), of the young soldiers winding through the Sampheng Lane near Wat Kō<sup>(1)</sup>, the military training on Sanām Chai<sup>(2)</sup> (the lawn near the eastern-wall of the royal palace) and the journey through Dong Phrayā Fai<sup>(3)</sup> (a well-known jungle in the north-east of Thailand).

Further evidences to confirm that the poets were influenced by contemporary environments are the mentions of Čhao Čhōm<sup>(4)</sup> (the king's minor wives); different positions of the lady-attendants in the royal palace<sup>(5)</sup>, such as — Thaokae, Thāo, Khlōn, Čhā; different ranks of the officials<sup>(6)</sup>, such as Phrayā (with different titles: Phrayā Thāinam, Phrayā Sī Suriyaphā), Phra, Luang, Khun, Mū'n, Thanāi; and the names of the state barges<sup>(7)</sup>, such as — Ru'a Sī with a golden throne, Ru'a Thīnang, Ru'a Ekachai. The name 'Ong Čhan', the ruler of Cambodia at that period, is also introduced into the poem.<sup>(8)</sup>

---

(1) Ibid., p. 1167.

(2) Ibid., p. 3; King Rama I, Dālang, p. 2; King Rama I, Inao, p. 6.

(3) King Rama II, Inao, p. 1112.

(4) Ibid., p. 1057.

(5) Ibid., pp. 2, 59, 1129, 1133, 1137, 1164, 1183, 1184; King Rama I, Dālang, p. 388

(6) King Rama II, Inao, pp. 1174, 1188, 1201; King Rama I, Dālang, p. 384.

(7) King Rama II, Inao, p. 3.

(8) Ibid., p. 1057.

Thai scholars acknowledge that the palace life as depicted in the Inao of King Rama II is based on the life of Thai royalty. The celebration of a new-born prince<sup>(1)</sup> (the hero, in Kurēpan), the royal cremation<sup>(2)</sup> (of the Queen Mother, in Manyā), the reception of an embassy<sup>(3)</sup> (in Dāhā), the Sa Sanān<sup>(4)</sup> (elephants and horses parade, in Kālang), the tonsure ceremony<sup>(5)</sup> (when Sīyatrā is tonsured, in Dāhā) and the royal marriage<sup>(6)</sup> (in Kālang) and Pakamā-ngan<sup>(7)</sup> reflects Thai customs which have been observed for generations. A slight alteration is the replacement of Buddhist monks by hermits where the rituals are concerned, yet the hermits hold Tālipat (face-screen with a long handle furnished to Buddhist monks)<sup>(8)</sup> and begin their prayer with 'Namō' (= I adore, an expression used by Buddhist monks to preface religious discourse). The hermits are introduced because they suit the story which was formerly subject to Hindu influence. This purpose of preserving some of the original atmosphere can be traced from the episodes dealing with

- 
- (1) Ibid., pp. 17-8.
  - (2) Ibid., pp. 48-65.
  - (3) Ibid., pp. 237-40.
  - (4) Ibid., pp. 765-73.
  - (5) Ibid., pp. 799-805.
  - (6) Ibid., pp. 1090-6.
  - (7) Ibid., pp. 1200-6.
  - (8) Ibid., pp. 1091, 1093.

(1)  
the Baela ceremony (= Suttee, self-immolation of a widow on her husband's funeral pyre). It is a Hindu family rite to confirm the faithfulness of the wife. There exist no references to this practice in Thai historical or legal texts, nor in literary texts except in *Dālang* and *Inao*.

The celebration of the birth of a prince as described in *Dālang* (in connection with the hero's first son, in *Pataram*) is rather abbreviated and does not have the special features characteristic of the Thai custom. However, in the episode dealing with the coronation and the marriage between the hero's first son and the Princess of *Tra-sē*, in *Mongkon*, there is a mention of *Sēphā*, *Khap Mai* and *Mahōrī* in connection with the ceremony. These three terms make the ceremony look more or less Thai, because

---

(1) *Ibid.*, pp. 151-2; King Rama I, *Dālang*, pp. 371-91, 723-5.

(2) King Rama I, *Dālang*, pp. 653-4.

(3) *Ibid.*, p. 933.

(4) *Sēphā* is a story-singing. The singer uses two pairs of *krap* (multiple castanets), one pair in each hand, rolling it back and forth to produce a rhythmic accompaniment to his singing.

(5) *Khap Mai* consists of three persons. One sings, one plays the *sō* (bowed stringed instrument) in accompaniment and the other one twists the *bandō* (percussion instrument) back and forth to produce rhythm.

(6) *Mahōrī* is a group-singing, accompanied by music from a castanet, a three stringed violin, a *thōn* (percussion instrument) and a *kračhappī* (stringed instrument).

they are known as a part of entertainments in the Thai court.

The episode of the heroine asking for an oracle after having lighted candles in front of the Holy Image (1) in Inao, portrays the Thai concept of mystic power. When one gets entangled in a problem and becomes eager to see into the future, the best consolation is to rely upon a holy being. The assassination of Khun Worawongsā as recorded in the Thai chronicles is a piece of evidence for this attitude of mind. Before carrying out their plan, the conspirators went into a temple and lighted two candles in front of the Buddha's Image. One of the candles represented Khun Worawongsā whom they wanted to assassinate, and the other represented Phra Thian Rāchā whom they wanted to place on the throne. They made a request for the oracle, asking the Holy Image to put out the light of the candle representing Khun Worawongsā if their wish would be fulfilled and, on the contrary, put out the light of the candle representing Phra Thian Rāchā if they were going to meet a failure (2). The heroine in Inao is also in an unhappy and a doubtful situation. She is pestered by the hero who tries

---

(1) Rama II, King, Inao, pp. 416-22.

(2) This incident happened during the third decade of the sixteenth century, in the Ayuthaya period. See: Phra Rācha Phongsāwadān Krung Kao, Bangkok, 1863, pp. 38-9.

to declare his love, because her marriage with another person is drawing near. The idea of seeing the future by candle-lights occurs to the second queen of Daha who urges the heroine to question the Holy Image about her true partner. Three candles are lighted in front, representing the hero, the heroine and the suitor respectively, and the Holy Image is asked to put out the light representing the one who is not fated to be her partner.

The sprinkling of consecrated water to avert evil spirits (as applied to the heroine in Inao when King Dāhā thinks that she looks unhappy without reason<sup>(1)</sup>), the 'tham khwan' ceremony for calling back the protecting spirit after some frightening event has passed (as the case of King Kālang's daughters after the war<sup>(2)</sup>) and the compensation made to the guardian deity after a wish has been fulfilled<sup>(3)</sup> (at Dāhā and Kālang after the war) are not new to people in Thailand at all.

The custom of chewing betels and that a portion once chewed by a girl being handed to a man represents her love for him, and the fashion of having shiny black teeth as expressed in Dālang and Inao, have been in existence for

---

(1) Rama II, King, Inao, pp. 435-40.

(2) Ibid., pp. 735-9.

(3) Ibid., pp. 427-34, 1118-23.

many countries. Evidences of these practices can be traced in literary works of an earlier period as well as in those works contemporary with these two versions.

There are musical bands, female singers and dancers to entertain royalty in Inao and Dālang, and sometimes the royal people participate when they are free.<sup>(1)</sup> The terms Khap Mai, Mahōrī and Rabam are used in the poems, thus revealing local influence. These entertainments existed in Thai palaces in the olden days. The earliest evidence is found in Kot Monthian Bān, the Palace Law enacted in the fifteenth century, which mentions the places assigned to the Rabam dancers in the audience hall in the Ayuthaya court.<sup>(2)</sup>

In Dalang and Inao, the games they play in the palace compound are of various kinds such as — Tō Taem<sup>(3)</sup> (playing cards), chess<sup>(4)</sup> (with the mention of Khun, Khōn, Mā, Bia),<sup>(5)</sup> cock-fighting, Khulā Sōn Lūk, Ngū Kin Hāng,<sup>(6)</sup> Khaeng Ru'a Khon and Sak Sāo. The last four were popular among children in those days. Some games are mentioned as

---

(1) King Rama I, Dālang, pp. 112, 364, 496, 1003; King Rama II, Inao, pp. 650-1, 686-8, 804, 827, 1094.

(2) Kotmāi, Vol. II, Bangkok, 1902, p. 93.

(3) King Rama II, Inao, p. 215.

(4) Ibid., p. 1181.

(5) Ibid., pp. 677-84; King Rama I, Dālang, pp. 502-4.

(6) King Rama II, Inao, p. 838.

(1)  
 being played in the <sup>ngtē</sup> very compound such as — Takrō  
 (kick-ball) and Čhōngtē<sup>(1)</sup> (similar to quoits; the players  
 have to draw lines so as to form rectangles and squares  
 before skipping). These also show the interpolation of  
 Thai games.

The scenes dealing with the inhabitants are probably based on the kind of life typical of the Thai in the capital. The rivers and canals are the principal thoroughfare where multitudes of trading boats are seen paddling along up and down the stream, and floating-houses are moored at the front landing of the city (comparable to Thā Tian in Bangkok). A great variety of wares are displayed by both local and foreign traders. Naturalization is evident in the mentions of girls having 'rai' (marks of hairs pulled out round the top-knot), the use of turmeric powder in beautifying the skin, Su'a Sēnākut (a tunic with the device of a lion printed upon it), and pretty girls hiding themselves in the house even at festival time for fear of being called to the royal palace. It really happened in those days that the royal Lakhon needed actresses for the performances outside the palace. As the king's minor wives were not allowed to act in such plays, the Lakhōn teachers had to train the commoners' daughters who looked

---

(1) Ibid., p. 416.

pretty to attract the audience. The Palace Law governing the Fāi Nai or the ladies in the royal palace was very strict, and it was very difficult to get permission to visit outside. So many of the commoners did not want to have their daughters confined inside the palace walls.

Activities similar to those in the palace exist among the outsiders as well.<sup>(1)</sup> One can see ceremonial baths and tonsure rites performed in some of the houses. Generally, the local sports and games are animal-fighting (such as between cocks, fishes, goats and buffaloes), racing (between men or bullock-carts), kite-flying which consists of Khulā or Čhulā (star kite) and Pakpao (small diamond-shaped kite with a single long tail). In the field of entertainments, the arts of singing, dancing and acting in the plays are taught. Many local songs are heard such as — Phlēng Khru'ng Thōn, Sutčhai, Kai Pā, Sēphā, Sakrawā and Mahōrī. At nighttime, there are shadow-plays depicting beautiful carved figures. The latter performance has been one of the most popular entertainments for Thai people since the Ayuthaya period. It is mentioned as existing in the royal palace of Somdet Phra Bōroma Trailōkanāt<sup>(2)</sup> (1448-88).

---

(1) Ibid., p. 5.

(2) Kotmāi, Vol. II, p. 99.



The favourite story in those days to be depicted on the screen was the Rāmakien. Only in the reign of Somdet Phra Nārāi, the story of Samuthakhōt or Samuthakhōt Kham Chan was used for the court shadow-play performed in connection with his 25th birthday ceremony (1656 A.D.).

The public entertainments performed on ceremonial occasions are mentioned in great number. They are based on the popular performances held in the Thai capital such as Nang (shadow-play), Khōn (masked-play), Khōn Rōng Yai (masked-play in a big theatre), Lakhōn (dance-drama), Lakhōn Chātrī, Lakhōn Khaek (Malay drama), Rabam, Rabēng, Mōngkhrum, Khulā Tī Mai, Ram Phaen, Mōn Ram, Singtō Yuan, Khōm Yuan, Khōm Mangkōn, Thaengwisai, Krabī Krabōng, the last eleven names being different kinds of dancing. There are also Hun (puppets) or Hun Čhīn (Chinese puppets), Ngiu (Chinese drama), the playing of musical instruments such as Čhōngnōng (stringed instrument), Khlui (flute) and others, and the singing of folk-songs such as Prop Kai and Thēp Thong. Feats and acrobatic shows are also listed such as Nōn Dāp (lying upon sword-blades), Tai Luat (climbing the copper wire), Hokkhamēn (feats on top of the acrobat poles) and Khāp Khōn (hammer seizing). Besides, there are male and

---

(1) Rama, King, Dālang, p. 156; Rama II, King, Inao, pp. 56-9, 471, 498-9, 502-3, 1095-6, 1206.

(2) The performer lifts with the teeth a heavy sledge-hammer by a piece of rope, and swings it behind above the shoulders. See: Gerini, G. E., Chulakantamangala, Bangkok, 1895, p. 120.

female boxing, gambling and fireworks.

An old form of etiquette — reverence for royalty — is emphatically mentioned throughout *Dālang* and *Inao*. Making obeisance (bowing low with palm-joined hands raised over the forehead), crouching and crawling are methods of demonstrating respect in the presence of the superior one. The overwhelming joy of a courtier who unexpectedly meets his long-lost lord (the heroine in disguise), even with the bewilderment that comes with sudden recognition of her real identity, is expressed in the accustomed way:

He crawls to her and makes obeisance,  
Places her feet upon his head,  
And bursts into incessant tears. (1)

The head is considered to be the most sacred part of the body while the feet are the lowest, yet the sovereign's feet are of higher position than the commoner's head.

Among the members of royalty, a younger or less-exalted one honours the elder or the superior in a similar manner. For example, when the hero's step-brother finds the hero delirious in the forest, he makes obeisance and, "throwing his arms round his brother's feet, he weeps

---

(1) Rama II, King, *Inao*, p. 984.

(1)  
 over and over again." The meeting between the hero's minor  
 wives and the hero's step-brother and cousin reveals the  
 same way of paying respect: the princesses run towards the  
 two princes, make obeisance at their feet and weep. Even (2)  
 before handing the souvenir to the hero in exchange, each  
 of his minor wives "joins her palms and prostrate herself  
 at his feet." (3)

Rank is everything. The Divine Race is exalted  
 as the supreme rank which deserves worship by all royal  
 descendants of non-divine race. In the first meeting  
 between the hero and the suitor, the latter kneels down (4)  
 and makes obeisance while the hero only bows in return.  
 Two of the hero's minor wives are offended, but obliged,  
 to pay respect to his first love whom they consider to be  
 equal to them in rank:

To make obeisance to Princess Busbā  
 Is better; it won't hurt our feelings.  
 She deserves having us as attendants,  
 Because she is a divine descendant. (5)

We find pride of rank in the Divine Race. They  
 never show proper salutation to any less-exalted royalty.  
 The hero in disguise never makes obeisance to the kings

---

(1) Rama I, King, Dālang, p. 428.

(2) Ibid., p. 638.

(3) Rama II, King, Inao, p. 309.

(4) Ibid., p. 363.

(5) Ibid., p. 205.

of minor states even though they are much more senior in age. The case of the heroine and King Pramōtan in Inao is an exception. She is adopted by him while wandering in disguise, so with gratitude she respects him as much as her own father.

The theme of 'conflict between the major and minor wives', which is popularly used by the Thai poets, occurs in Inao after the reunion in Kālang and gives us a picture of the court ladies who get involved in such a sentimental hostility. Other poems based on indigenous tales about commoners tend to reveal the aggressiveness and impetuosity of the wives, and sometimes the poets describe the husband joining in that violent quarrel by siding with one of the wives. The composers of Lakhōn Nai poems never create such scenes in the royal palace, because the main purpose is to exhibit beauty and gracefulness. The reaction of inner feelings portrayed at the meeting between the heroine and the hero's first love leaves an impression of the genteel nature of the court ladies. The description runs as follows:

At that moment,  
Princess Chintarā who is of fine complexion  
Prostrates herself at the (dust of) feet

---

(1) Ibid., pp. 1062-3.

(2) See: the quarrels between Wanthōng and Lāothōng, between Sīmālā and Sōifā, in Khun Chāng Khun Phaen; the quarrels between Taphaothōng, Taphaokaēo and Wīmālā, between Wīmālā and Lu'amlāiwan, in Kraithōng.

Of the chief queens of the four states.  
 She also makes obeisance to the second queens  
 With wholehearted respect  
 And glances round inquisitively.  
 "Which is Busbā?" She wonders.

At that moment,  
 The chief queen of Dāhā  
 Catches a glimpse of Chintara  
 And apprehends what's in her mind.  
 Annoyed, she turns and looks fixedly  
 Into the eyes of Princess Busbā.  
 She forces her to make obeisance (to Chintarā),  
 But does not utter any word.

At that moment,  
 Princess Busbā, the bright beauty,  
 Perceives her royal mother's intent.  
 Displeasure rouses up immediately.  
 She hands to her (Chintarā) the betel-tray:  
 "Have some, please, Cousin Chintarā."  
 She does not make obeisance  
 But gives a sidelong glance,  
 Prying to find out her reaction.

At that moment,  
 The beautiful Princess Chintarā,  
 Seeing Princess Busbā  
 Greeting her in sarcastic manner,  
 Becomes overwhelmed with anger.  
 It's hard to hide her emotion;  
 So, with her left hand  
 She takes the tray and pushes it in front.

To give or receive things with the left hand  
 is considered to be rude in society, especially when the  
 other person is senior in rank or age. In this case, Busbā  
 is younger than Chintarā but her rank is higher. However,  
 it is only one rudeness expressed by Chintarā in that  
 meeting and everybody understands that she does it in  
 retaliation to Busbā's action. Busbā herself gets an ironical  
 scolding from her mother and is compelled to pay respect

to Čhintarā who is the 'major wife'. Being afraid that her father will become irritated, Busbā reluctantly joins her palms; but, since Čhintarā turns her face away, Busbā does not make obeisance after all. During that time, Inao himself sympathizes with Busbā so much that he secretly sheds tears. This makes Wiyadā, his sister, feel displeased with Čhintarā and burst out —

While wandering through forests,  
 My sister (Busbā) was Unākan  
 Whose power scared all kings.  
 Frightened of being killed,  
 They came to her and made obeisance.  
 Their sons and daughters — her attendants.  
 This time, oh, what a shame!  
 She should not pay respect  
 To one of low-degree.  
 Will you do it, sister dear?  
 If I were you — no fear!  
 Should His Majesty become angry,  
 I'd yield myself to penalty.  
 Death? — I wouldn't care; it should be better  
 Than living on in such a dishonour. (1)

However much offended she is, Čhintarā has to keep calm at being asked by the chief queen of Kurēpan not to take those words seriously because Wiyadā is still very young and is always in a hot temper. This is a rare picture which does not exist in the other dramatic poems as far as 'the conflict between the major and minor wives' is concerned.

---

(1) Rama II, King, Inao, p. 1064.

The royal insiders, once coming out of the palace, have enclosed paths to walk along. Their conveyances must be covered round by curtains. This is to prevent them from being seen by men or people of lower ranks. <sup>(1)</sup>

In the case of sickness, there are court doctors of several types. They use different methods of treatments according to their own knowledge. The medical doctor uses medicinal herbs and roots from the forest, the masseur treats with massage, the sorcerer makes a clay image representing the royal patient and employs incantations to remove the sickness, and the medium performs a ritual dance to invite the spirit of a deity to come into her and tells the cause of sickness as well as the way to overcome it. <sup>(2)</sup> The atmosphere is created of a time when superstition abounds and permeates throughout life. Dreams and predictions, descriptions and interpretations of bad omens, consultations with astrologers, recur throughout Dalāng and Inao. The belief in supernatural power is implanted in everybody's mind and the practices are also mentioned by the poets who had experienced such environment. For example, when the queen is due to give birth, the lady-attendants who are spirit-worshippers pray for her and

---

(1) King Rama II, Dālang, pp. 104, 144, 388, 473, 616, 725; King Rama II, Inao, pp. 52, 60, 397, 443, 1182.

(2) Ibid., pp. 98, 256-58, 471-72.

her baby's safety. Each one holds a coin in the hand, lifts it up while recalling a respected deity to accept it as a reciprocation for their protection, and tucks it in the partition of the queen's abode.<sup>(1)</sup>

Inao reveals the influence of bribery among the attendants in the royal palace. Precious rings from the hero make the ladies-in-waiting in Manyā and Kālang act as the go-between when he wants to contact the princesses.<sup>(2)</sup> We find that the gaoler, bribed with money, not only neglects his duty by unchaining the prisoner, giving him relief and better quarters but also helps the briber to visit the prisoner in secret. The palace guard, too, helps the insiders to pass through the back gate at night after they have bribed him with money. These incidents occur while the heroine's brother is in captivity in Maṅgādā.<sup>(3)</sup>

The natural manner and behaviour of the court ladies are portrayed under certain circumstances. Some of them do things for the sake of royal favour, such as the king's concubines who hasten in emulation to report him about the due birth of his child by the queen.<sup>(4)</sup> Some lady-attendants untidy their hair when their princess is in

- 
- (1) Ibid., p. 98.  
 (2) Ibid., pp. 87, 746.  
 (3) Ibid., pp. 877-80.  
 (4) Ibid., p. 98.



distress, to show that they share the suffering with her.<sup>(1)</sup>  
 When a pleasure trip is arranged, the excitement of these court ladies who prepare to accompany the royal family unfolds the inner feelings of the confined ones who look forward to the chance of seeing nice things outside.

They sit and roll the betel leaves and chat with their friends. Then they carefully cut the betel nuts and put them into the containers. Some of them<sup>(2)</sup> have just recovered from sickness and have untidy hair. They keep on watching their reflection in the mirror, daubing the hair with wax and candle-smoke, lingering there and powdering their faces. Some wear phānung (the loin-cloth) made in Pattanī and phāhom (the sash worn across the left shoulder and under the right arm) made of designed silk in pale purplish colour. Examining themselves and finding that they do not look beautiful enough, they change their phāhom into a better one. Some are sharp-tongued and look down upon others with insulting irony, thus causing a quarrel to occur. Those in love dress themselves daintily, rolling cigarettes made of the leaves from the nipa palm and putting sandalwood pieces inside with the purpose of giving them to their loved ones on the way. The ladies-in-waiting in the three palaces dress in competition. . . .<sup>(3)</sup>

At a royal visit, especially when the visitor is a young prince, the lady-attendants will scramble for<sup>(4)</sup> the partition-holes to watch and criticize him. Their curiosity is expressed similarly to that of the outsiders in some extent.

---

(1) Ibid., p. 229.

(2) For the meaning of 'rai', see page. 108.

(3) King Rama II, Inao, p. 217.

(4) Ibid., pp. 359-60, 365-66.

The panic of the insiders at an unexpected, frightening event is well described. For example, when a part of the city is set on fire, the insiders of all ranks run to and fro, bumping against one another. Some drag the others along while calling their friends. Some collect their properties, their money falling down and being lost through their excitement. Some unlock their cupboards, snatching their cosmetics and the nail-pullers, tweezers and scissors, and put them on the cloth-tray. Some have carried away big things but forget to take the mirror; they have to return<sup>(1)</sup> and search for it.

Outside the royal palace, natural actions of the commoners tend to create comic scenes. The descriptions are more or less blended with the contemporary background. In Manyā, when a royal cremation takes place, tumult occurs in the big throng of people who want to watch the procession of carrying the urn from the Grand Palace:

The mandarins' wives put on airs,  
Waiting on the benches in front of  
the masked-play theatre.  
Some philanderers pass by  
And intentionally bump against women.  
Tradeswomen from floating-houses  
take their children along;  
Their husbands are junk-commanders,  
the Chinese new-comers  
Who cannot speak Thai properly.  
Wherever these women sit  
They are surrounded by young men.

---

(1) Ibid., p. 508.



stroll about. If they come across any acquaintance they quickly hide their faces by turning away. They conceal their identity and mix with the crowd to avoid being recognised, and make merry in their youthful way. (1)

The entertainments which takes place after a state ceremony are the delight of old and young whose movements are realistically portrayed in Inao. During daytime,

They stroll in groups to watch the shows,  
Carrying babies, pulling the bigger ones  
by the hand.

Some carry their own benches along on their  
shoulders

And use them as seats while watching Lakhōn.  
They open their umbrellas against the hot sun.  
Young girls who are still single make themselves prominent;

They walk around in vanity, holding sandalwood  
fans.

Some with affected manner appear to be sullen,  
Applying the lip-wax and chewing the betels  
coyly.

They cast a glance and meet men's eye,  
then turn away,

Touching their friend with finger-tips in  
bashfulness. (2)

And at nighttime,

Young men throng in the middle of the road,  
Intentionally huddling among young girls.

Some are mischievous, throwing bricks towards  
the shadow-play stage;

Being caught, they give a statement in which  
they pass the blame on to their master.

---

(1) Ibid., p. 58.

(2) Ibid., p. 498.

Those who have just left priesthood  
walk together;  
All are philanderers.  
They act in vanity; some play chongnong<sup>(1)</sup>  
and the others blow flutes.  
They linger round to watch women.  
Seeing salesgirls in stalls,  
They start courting them and jokingly beg  
for cigarettes.  
Some are overcome with liquor  
And haughtily make fierce quarrels.  
Some hide themselves behind the bushes;  
Seeing women walking home,  
They rush to them, put out the torches,  
And run away with their Phāhom.  
The owners pursue but are knocked down.  
Some take their wives to watch the shadow-play;  
They stop to buy peanuts and lotus-seeds,  
Then make their way through the audience  
and sit in the middle. (2)  
They are enthralled there by the performance.

The shadow-play generally gives joy to the audience who watch the beautiful carved figures on the screen and listen to the poems chanted with musical accompaniment. A dālang (shadow-play master) who has poetic aptitude can gain a large sum of money or other worthy things as a reward. He charms people more if his outward appearance is also attractive. In Dālang, the episodes where the shadow-play performance is concerned display the excessive enthusiasm of people who are captivated by the dālang's handsomeness as well as his artful technique of representation. For example, they run along as soon as

(1) Stringed instrument.

(2) Rama II, King, Inao, p. 503.

they hear the introductory music and huddle together in front of the screen. There they sit throughout the night until the performance is over. Then they go back home with the dalang in mind:

Those who live far off walk on, murmuring  
to themselves (about him),  
So engrossed that they enter the wrong house! (1)

Women's reaction to the dālang is prominent in the shadow-play episode. During the performance,

Young girls make a resolution:  
"I shall follow and visit him to-day.  
If he does not care for me  
I'll hang myself to death."  
Those who are widows, unabashed,  
Affectionately approach him;  
They throw packets of scented flowers  
To the dālang with love. (2)

At his dwelling place, the dālang has these women as regular visitors. They offer him various kinds of presents. Out of their parents' sight, some of the young girls sneak out of the house with perfumed powder, hair oil and cloths for him. (3) Some prepare edible things, helped by their parents and relatives who are also full of love for the handsome dālang. (4) They dress in competition and go to visit him daily with such offerings.

---

(1) Rama I, King, Dālang, p. 258.

(2) Ibid., p. 261.

(3) Ibid., p. 262.

(4) Ibid., p. 264.

Whoever arrives first gets in first;  
Those who come later pull faces. (1)

The shadow-play has a very important role in Dālang and Inao. The title of the former, Dālang, refers to the hero in disguise as a shadow-play master. His performance in Dāhā leads to the meeting with his betrothed. (2) After the separation, he uses such a device of disguise once again in Manyāpā-et and gains popularity among the citizens who finally invite him to ascend the throne by marrying the daughter of the late king. In Inao, the shadow-play managed by the hero's retainer brings the discovery of the nun's real identity after which the curse of Patāarakālā ends. (4)

It is worth noticing that the poems which have some association with the shadow-play tend to describe the method of representation. Samuthakhōt Kham Chan which was composed as a shadow-play text in the reign of Somdet Phra Nārāi is the best example of this feature. Dālang and Inao also contain passages describing how they perform such an entertainment. In Dālang, the poet starts with the principal accessories. First of all, the dālang makes the figures

---

(1) Ibid., p. 296.

(2) Ibid., pp. 256-348.

(3) Ibid., pp. 558-79.

(4) King Rama II, Inao, pp. 923-34.

(5) King Rama I, Dālang, pp. 256-60, 265-66, 271-72, 274-75, 282-83, 299-300, 302-303, 336-38, 558-61, 565-67, 295, 568-69.

out of the hide. Then he stretches a piece of white cloth as the screen. The musical instruments consist of an oboe, a xylophone, circular framed gongs and a drum. Prior to the performance, the hide figures are placed in order near the screen, and the dālang dresses himself beautifully in bright colour. When it is getting dark, the fire is lighted up and the orchestra play a prelude. The invocation begins, followed by the manipulation of 'Phrān' (comic character) on the screen. When the place is crowded, the dālang manipulates the hide figures representing the characters in his selected story and sings the poem extempore. The performance stops at dawn. The fire is quenched and the screen is rolled up. In Inao, the poets mention the manipulation of the 'early evening monkeys' as the prelude to the shadow-play, the torches burnt upon the table to give light to the screen, and the musical instruments which consist of a xylophone, gongs, drum, kr̥q and krōng. The

---

(1) Rama II, King, Inao, pp. 502, 924, 1096.

(2) Kr̥q is made from a section of bamboo which is cut in such a way that a node or joint of the bamboo is retained at each end of the section. A small slit is made in the side of the section running the length of the cylindrical column between the nodes. It is played by hitting the section of bamboo with a small beater which is made of another piece of bamboo or a piece of hard wood.

(3) Krōng, or long kr̥q, is made from a long piece of bamboo, one or two metres in length, or as long as is desired. It is placed horizontally a few inches above the ground or floor, resting on two wooden supports one at either end, and one in the middle if the length warrants.



hide figures which the artists make in the nun episode appear to be of small size and painted in beautiful colours. The screen stretched between the posts is made of thin white cloth. The invocation is made with three shouts while the gongs and drum are beaten violently. Then the performance starts with the manipulation of the leading character in the selected story.<sup>(1)</sup>

Another comic scene in which the commoners participate deals with their reaction at the thought that danger is near at hand. Once awakened in the middle of the night by a tumultuous noise, they fancy that a fire is breaking out and become panic stricken —

Some tighten their loin-cloth  
And fasten the waist-band round,  
Then climb up a side of their granary,  
Trying to tear the roof down. (2)  
Some run about, removing their properties;  
They bump against the door, fall into the (3)  
space between floor-boards and tumble over?

The movement after a presumption that the city is going to be pillaged is graphically described though mixed with the poets' sense of humour:

---

(1) In the nun episode, the figure representing Inao is held up first because the dālang are depicting the story of Inao — about the past relation between him and Busbā.

(2) It is the old method of preventing a wholesale bonfire as the houses in those days had thatched roofs.

(3) Rama II, King, Inao, p. 846.





Then he puts on the sanapphlao (tight-fitting  
 drawers),  
 The nether garment with lāi-yaeng (a design),  
 The glaring purplish upper garment  
 Embroidered with threads of gold, silver  
 and silk,  
 Which, confined together with scents,  
 spreads sweet fragrance,  
 The ċhiarabāt (waist-band with its end hanging  
 down to the knees, one at the front of  
 each leg) embroidered all over with  
 threads of gold,  
 The belt of as much value as the state,  
 The krōngsō (ornament worn round the body  
 on a level with the shoulders) with  
 shining diamonds ornated in sangwian  
 (a pattern),  
 The thapsuang (pendant) and a set of delicately  
 made chains as the sangwān (worn from  
 the shoulders to the hips diagonally),  
 The tāp (plate attached to the sangwān upon  
 the chest) decorated with gold and  
 diamond in the pattern of four-petal  
 flowers placed in sequence,  
 Nine pairs of pure gold bangles,  
 The rings radiant with diamonds,  
 The kanċhiak (ornamental piece extending down  
 behind the ear, from the lower part of  
 the headdress) made to match the shape  
 of the headdress,  
 And arms himself with the mighty kris used  
 for fighting;  
 So handsome is he, as a deity coming. (1)

In other passages, some more ornaments worn by  
 the royal personage are described. They can be listed as  
 follows:

Dōkmai Phet (diamond flower),  
 Dōkmai That (flower worn above the right ear),  
 Kunthon (earrings),  
 Uba (string of flowers hanging down, from  
 the lower part of the headdress, in  
 front of the right ear),

---

(1) Cf. Chapter II, p. 55.

Inthanū (epaulettes, worn only with the upper garment which has long sleeves),  
 Phāhurat (armlets),  
 Sa-ing (a set of chains)  
 Panneng (buckle with belt)  
 Tāp-thit (plate attached to the sangwan where the latter touches the hip),

including

Sābo (scarf) and hōi nā (cloth hanging down from the waist between the ends of the waist-band).

A handkerchief of bright colour or a fan is occasionally mentioned as being held in the left hand. The leading character sometimes wears a small garland round the wrist and tucks 'yā dom' <sup>(1)</sup> behind the ear. The mention of slippers is found in the latter part of the poem.

The terms used in passages of the poem practically coincide with the conventional details of the male regal theatrical costume used in Khōn and Lakhōn. <sup>(2)</sup> The only omission in the text is the anklets (kamlai thao). Additional items appearing in the text are the scarf (sābo) and the slippers (chalōng-phra-bāt or rōng-phra-bāt).

---

(1) This term means drug used by inhalation. It is normally in a small container.

(2) Cf. Dhani Nivat, H.H. Prince, 'Traditional Dresses in the Classical Dance of Siam', J.S.S., Vol. XL, Part 2, 1952, p. 139.

Modern Lakhon Chatri costume is similar. In earlier times the tunic was not worn. See: Damrong Rajanubhab, H.R.H. Prince, Tamrā Fōn Ram, Bangkok, 1923; and Nicolas, René, op. cit., p. 98. In paintings royal personages do not usually wear the battle tunic and their appearance is close to the convention for the older type of usage in Lakhōn Chātrī.

The last mentioned item is perhaps significant in that it brings the costume worn one step nearer to the very similar costume of royal personages (dressed as for battle) where slippers are worn while they are not in the theatre. In royal battle costume anklets are not worn and do not appear in the text (Inao) as we have noted above. <sup>(1)</sup>

b) A description of the heroine's costume, <sup>(2)</sup>  
on going to the audience hall —

She wears the light green, embroidered  
nether garment,  
The sabai (phāhom) woven with threads of gold,  
The bodice in ruby colour,  
The chain (worn from the left shoulder to the  
hip opposite to it),  
The plate (attached to the chain) ornated  
with diamond flowers,  
The radiant gemmed bangles with raised surface,  
The belt round her waist  
And the resplendent diamond rings.  
She powders her face and looks as clear  
As the bright full-moon.  
Then she wears the princess headdress.

There are also some more ornaments mentioned  
in other passages, such as

Kančhiak Chōn (ear decorations attached to  
the headdress),  
Uba (string of flowers hanging down, from  
the lower part of the headdress, in  
front of the left ear),  
Kunthon (earrings),  
Sōi Nuam (ornament worn round the body on a  
level with the shoulders),

---

(1) Ref. to royal costume description.

(2) ~~King Rama III~~, Inao, p. 357.

Phāhurat (armlets),  
 Pawalam (bracelets of beads),  
 Thapsuang (pendant).

The fashion of holding a fan is mentioned occasionally. Slippers appear in the latter part of the poem.

The female royal costume in the text has close resemblance to the conventional theatrical costume<sup>(1)</sup>. The only items not specifically mentioned in the text are the minor one of the flower above the left ear (dōkmai that) and, once again, the anklets (kamlai thao) where slippers are mentioned in their place.

The material of these costumes and the grade of the ornaments vary in accordance with the importance of the character who wears them. During disguise as a forester, Inao does not wear the headdress (chadā); he lets his hair down and sometimes covers it with a piece of cloth. The description also reveals the colour contrast in the costumes, such as —

He wears a light green, 'khem khāp'<sup>(2)</sup> nether  
 garment,<sup>(3)</sup>  
 With an attractive blue, 'mōt' upper garment.

---

(1) Cf. Dhani Nivat, H.H. Prince, 'Traditional Dresses in the Classical Dance of Siam', J.S.S., p. 141.

(2) A kind of cloth woven with the design running lengthwise.

(3) Embroidered silk with threads of gold or silver woven in alternately.

(1)  
The 'tāt' waist-band is embroidered  
with threads of gold;  
The pendant made of red stone shines bright. (2)

Or,

She wears the light green, embroidered  
The sabai (phāhom) woven with threads of gold,  
The bodice in ruby colour. (3)

For an important ceremony, such as in the burning of a widow, the tonsure, the coronation, or the marriage, the royal personage involved dresses in white.

The costumes of commoners are of simple pattern, consisting of two pieces of silk or cotton material. Among the men, the smaller piece is used for covering the shoulders as a scarf while the larger piece is worn in the form of breeches. Various designs or rich embroidery can be seen in the latter. The usual way of wearing it is to encircle the waist and tuck in the two ends neatly at the rear. In Inao, there is a mention of the dandy who give the fastening knot of the nether garment around the waist an extra twist; this style is known as 'kiao khō-kai' <sup>(4)</sup>. In Dālang, the hero in disguise as a shadow-play master wears the nether garment in another style known as 'lōi chāi': he only twists



and fastens the upper ends at the waist, leaving the lower ends unrolled and not fastened up at the rear. The fashion of tucking 'yā dom' or a cigarette behind the ear is also found among the dandy. The mandarins wear su'a khruī (muslin jackets cut like short dressing gowns). The soldiers wear su'a sēnākut (tunics with 'the seal of the lion' printed upon them). Coloured military costumes are described occasionally.

The female commoners wear long nether garment<sup>s</sup> called phānung, with a sash or phāhom as the upper garment. The ornaments are earrings, rings and gold chains. They smear their hair with scented oil or soot wax, comb it neatly and put it up in bun shape. The better class girls wear stylized costumes but they are less elaborate than those of the royalty. The poets also mention young girls walking along with a fan in one hand to draw men's attention.

(1) There is a passage in Inao describing the female boxers. They let their hair down, daub their skin with consecrated turmeric powder and wear the phāhom in 'tabaeng-mān' style (started from behind, passed under the armpits, across the chest and with the ends tied behind the neck). They tighten the loin-cloth up as the male boxers do. Their

---

(1) Rama II, King, Inao, p. 57.

hands are wrapped round with rope which serve as boxing gloves and a circular band of consecrated cord is worn round the head. This type of costume is considered to be suitable for fighting.

The descriptions in Dālang and Inao, therefore, show the difference between the stylized royal costume and the realistic costume of the commoner. The former, adapted from the actual royal costume which nowadays survives only in important state ceremonies in Thailand, fits the theatrical performance very well. Such pictures of the stylized costume are also found in miniature paintings in Thai manuscripts and mural paintings i.e. on the wall of the sanctuary of Wat Yom, Ayuthaya.

Outside the high thick wall of the populated city, the forest is the other main area which Thai poets take delight in picturing. Forest descriptions occur frequently because the action of the poem when it is not taking place in the palace or the city is concentrated in the forest. Travelling or the movement of an army through the forest is a very common theme. The striking characteristic of Dālang and Inao is that the contrast lies between

---

(1) Wenk, K., Thailandische Miniaturmalereien, Wiesbaden, 1965.

(2) See: Wārasān Silpakorn, May 1953, pp. 126-30.

the palace and the city on the one hand and the forest on the other. There are no descriptions of the rice-fields, people working in them, and the everyday actions of life in the country. Dramatic texts share this characteristic with narrative poetry in general, but contrast with the 'nirāt' type of travel poems where country scenes are frequently described.

Mountains, caves, waterfalls, streams, wild animals, birds, insects, trees laden with fruits and flowers constitute a pleasant view to the protagonists in Dālang and Inao on their journey. Among the simple and life-like descriptions we get these images:

The birds warble with pleasing notes;  
 The gibbons sway along from branch to branch;  
 There appear the nggh, so dark and terrifying,  
 Young oxen, stags, hedgehogs and bears.  
 Beside a cave, the hares hops after one another.  
 Peacocks are plentiful; some stand and dance,  
 Some bathe, some preen their plumes upon the hill.  
 The stream is filled with blooming lotuses  
 From which sweet scents diffuse and intermingle.  
 Carpenter bees and honey bees swarm about;  
 Some hover round and suck the soothing nectar.(1)

The characteristic movements of bird life are often portrayed in Dalang, such as —

There are plenty of raw, under-ripe and ripe fruits  
 At which a flock of birds are pecking.

---

(1) Rama II, King, Inao, p. 1186.

The term 'nggh' in this quoted passage refers to the negrito, an aboriginal race.

Some birds alight and roll themselves on open  
flowers;

Some hatch the eggs in their own nests;

Some return with prey and feed the young;

Some hover round, seeking for fruits;

Some coo and call in the forest, (1)

Then dart away, affrighted by the marching troops.

Or,

The female birds are busy building nests;

The fledglings wait for their mothers;

The fully-fledged are taught to fly. (2)

Birds and trees occupy an equally important place in the forest description. The poets take delight in citing their names, the vast majority of which are Thai or old assimilated borrowings from Mon-Khmer or Indic languages. There are some flower names of Indonesian origin used in Dālang and Inao only, such as

Butrī Trasum --- *Clerodendron fragrans* (Verbenaceae),  
Bu-ngā Kantrū --- *Micromelum minutum* (Rutaceae),  
Bu-ngā Kārabuning --- *Murraya paniculata* (Rutaceae),  
Bu-ngā Tanyong --- *Mimusops elengi* (Sapotaceae),  
Bu-ngā Panan --- *Pandanus tectorius* (Pandaceae),  
Bu-ngā Angsanā --- *Pterocarpus cambodianus* (Leguminosae),  
Bu-ngā Angsōkā --- *Saraca indica* (Leguminosae). (3)

Some of the birds and trees share the same name, for instance Kaeo, Nāngnuan, Yūng, Yāng, Wā and Anchan; Some are partly similar, for instance Khapkhæ (bird) -

---

(1) Rama I, King, Dālang, p. 682.

(2) Ibid., p. 874.

(3) See: Appendix IV.

Khæe (tree), Khaomōng (bird) - Mōng (tree), Čhākkaphrāk (bird) - Čhāk (tree), Nuančhan (bird) - Čhan (tree), Rangnān (bird) - Rang (tree), Sālikā (bird) - Kannikā, Phēkā (tree),<sup>(1)</sup> and so forth. These names form alliteration and wordplay which are the most favoured devices in Thai poetic diction. Although there are some natural descriptions, the actual characteristics of the forest tend to fade out under the influence of poetic convention. Birds and trees mostly appear, either separately or associated with each other, as a display of linguistic beauty. For example, we find "čhākkaphrāk čhap čhāk čhamnančhā"<sup>(2)</sup> (= The Čhākkaphrāk bird perches and chirps on the Čhāk) which is an exaggeration. The bird is web-footed, belonging to the sea-gull family, so it would be unnatural for it to perch upon the tree. The occurrence here is to allow alliteration and wordplay. Besides, 'čhāk' also means 'to be separated from somebody' which fits the episode of separation very well.

Wild animals also serve as an enchanting background. They are of various species and some can be associated with certain trees as a device of wordplay, such as Chāng (elephant) - Ōichāng (tree), Kwāng (stag) - Hūkwāng (tree),

---

(1) This is a literal translation of the Thai term - 'len kham'.

(2) King Rama II, Inao, p. 315.

Khō (ox) - Chongkhō (tree), Su'a (tiger) - Tāsu'a (tree)  
and Mū (pig) - Summū (tree).

A large majority of the terms used describe actual examples of flora and fauna existing in Thailand. The following terms, however, refer to mythical creatures:

Kilēn (four-footed, scaly creature with  
a dragon's head; Chinese origin.),  
Kraisōn (king of lions),  
Khotchāsī (lion with an elephant's trunk),  
Nākkharāt (king of the serpents, ruling  
the Naga world below the earth),  
Singtō (Chinese monster, very fierce and  
vigorous),  
Mangkōn (dragon, Chinese origin).

The sea journey seldom occurs in Dālang and Inao. There are 7 passages in Dālang and only 2 in Inao which illustrate aquatic animals, coral reefs, pearls, pebbles and sand. Various species of fish are cited, but they are a mixture of river fish and sea fish which does not give a realistic impression of the actual sea. It is another indication that the poets follow the usual convention while describing nature.

## CHAPTER V

## ASPECTS OF TREATMENT

Dālang and Inao exhibit certain features, with regard to the treatment of the subject, which are common in the Thai dramatic and narrative traditions. The emphasis as far as treatment is concerned lies with particular aspects. The two major aspects which can be isolated are those of war and of love --- the martial and amatory aspects. It is also important to note the influence of magic. This is sufficiently marked for it to be named as a definite aspect of treatment. The relationship between divine intervention in human affairs and the exercise of magical practices is dealt with here in the section entitled 'Divine and Magical Aspects'.

## Martial Aspect

Deeds of valour have been highly valued in all periods of Thai history, and this is reflected in literary texts. Heroic poetry commonly contains passages picturing the combat between hostile warriors. In the Lakhōn Nai texts, it is evident that the martial aspect is one of great importance. The major characters tend to get involved in warfare. The hero, being a descendant of Vishnu in Unarut, an incarnation of Vishnu in the Rāmakien, and a

descendant of the Divine Race in Dālang and Inao, always conquers his opponents, and so does the heroine in Dālang and Inao while acting as a man under the spell of the divine ancestor.

Lakhōn Nai has some particular elements in common with those of Sanskrit drama, such as adaptation from the legends or the lives of heroes in the remote past, having comic interventions while the leading characters are suffering from love, and a happy ending, yet they differ in the war episodes. Sanskrit drama never shows frightful events on the stage, but Lakhōn Nai presents fighting scenes. The descriptions in the texts are sometimes short, but sometimes in full length, according to the importance of the incidents and the characters involved.

When a royal personage journeys on warlike expeditions, he is usually escorted by an army arranged on the basis of fourfold division or 'ĉhaturong yōthā' which consists of infantry, cavalry, elephants and chariots. The following phrases — 'crowded with ĉhaturong yōthā', 'move ĉhaturong yōthā', 'arrange ĉhaturong yōthā' and 'hasten ĉhaturong yōthā' — are common in both Dālang and Inao.

---

(1) It is interesting to note that information about the actual conduct of battles is very limited in the Arthaśastra, the Sanskrit text on the theory of war. See: Basham, A.L., The Wonder that was India, London, 1956, p.135.



We find a traditional pattern of warfare description which can be concisely illustrated as follows:

- The preparation of the military force by the royal command on the eve of departure.
- The costume and ornaments worn by a royal leader in the morning of the day of departure.
- The march and encampment at the destination.
- The fighting scene.
- The actions of the victor and the conquered after the battle.

The preparation of the army reveals the soldiers' attitude towards war, i.e. their eagerness for fighting. Weapons of various kinds are mentioned: daggers, swords, curved swords with long handle, two-edged swords, rapiers, spears, lances, javelins, long pointed iron bar, long sharp pointed bamboo-sticks, bows and arrows, crossbows, clubs, cannons, including shields of different shapes. The belief in supernatural power and the practice of magic flourish among the soldiers and there are frequent references to them. Most of the warriors possess the knowledge of making themselves invulnerable or invisible when required. They wear war amulets to safeguard themselves while fighting; these amulets are

Sāi Prakham (a string of consecrated beads).

Phā Pračhiat ( a magic cloth marked with intrinsic cabalistic designs, symbols, lettering and numbers),

Takrut (a consecrated hollow brass, lead or silver cylinder strung on a small cord and worn round the waist, or as necklace or armlet. It may be engraved with yantra.),

Mongkhon (a circular band of consecrated cord, worn round the head),

Phitsamōn (a small square amulet worn round the neck or waist).

Some talismans are imbedded in the skin; some of the warriors smear themselves with consecrated oil and powder; some take consecrated liquor, some bathe in herbal water while the others eat consecrated herbs.

This literary feature is held in common with historiographically motivated records of the skill and power of Thai soldiers practised for King Louis XIV's inspection in France. A passage in the Thai chronicle runs as follows:

" . . . the Ambassadors directed their teachers to prepare sixteen of his pupils, arm themselves with the mysterious numbers, and mystic sentences graven on charm-metal to ward off the impingement of weapons of death. The teacher was dressed in white, with a long fringed white coat, and a wand covered with white cloth. The sixteen pupils wore red flannel trousers and jackets. The great teacher and his pupils made in all 17 persons. These were conducted to the Royal Court into the royal presence. Having made their prostrations to H.M. they seated themselves upon the seats, and then entreated H.M. to allow the 500 sure-shot soldiers to fire at the 17 Siamese soldiers who were stationed upon the seats. H.M. gave orders that the 500 French soldiers simultaneously fire upon all the Siamese soldiers.

Under the protecting influence of the three refuges, and the merit of the mystic numbers and sentences, the skill of invincibility and exemption from harm, all the French soldiers fired their flint lock guns several rounds at close and long range, but the flint sparks did not ignite the powder, and none of the guns went off. The seventeen Siamese soldiers feasted themselves on the rich food and wines naturally and without any indications of perturbation. All the French soldiers had their anxieties and fears and paused to see the effects of their fire. The Siamese teacher cried out granting permission, saying, fire again, we will now allow the sparks to ignite the powder, and all the balls to escape from their barrels. All the French soldiers fired again simultaneously one more round, the sparks ignited the powder, the balls flew from their barrels, some fell directly under the muzzle of the guns, some fell off at a distance, some fell near the seat-stands, but did not hit one of the Siamese soldiers. . . ." (1)

The above incident occurred when a Thai embassy visited France in 1657. Such knowledge of magic was a great benefit for warfare. In a war between Thailand and Burma, in 1662, the prowess of Phrayā Sīharāt Dēchō, a leader of the advance Thai forces, was reported in the Thai chronicle:

" The armed Burmans . . . surrounded the Siamese soldiers, and engaged in a hand to hand fight. The Burmans being by far the most numerous, outnumbering the Siamese several times, effected the capture of many of the Siamese. P'raya daacho, however, possessed the art of making himself temporarily invisible so long as he held breath. With his lance in hand he urged on his white horse and pierced to death many a ten of the brave Burmans who sometimes saw him and sometimes were not able to see him. In groups, here and there, they pursued him and attempted to surround him. P'raya Sri Raht daacho fought till, overcome with fatigue, he fell from his horse. His breathing

---

(1) Smith, S.J., tr., History of Siam, Reign of H.M. Somdetch P'ra Narai, Bangkok, 1880, pp. 19-20.

became rapid in consequence of his fatigue. The Burmans now were able to see him distinctly; they surrounded him, seized and bound him and they urged one another to stab, pierce and slay him, but he had the art of making himself impregnable, and he was able to resist the impingement of all their weapons. . . . " (1)

By means of magic, Phrayā Sīharāt Dēchō was able to release himself from being captive and he also gained victory over the Burmese army. His action was described as follows:

" . . . P'raya Sri Raht daacho, who was still bound, was examining the clouds and their figures in the sky. He saw a favourable omen and a diffusion of propitious magic sentences, and all his fetters fell from him. He sprang to his feet, rushed and seized a sword from a Burman, assailed and slew several of those who guarded the prisooers. The Burmans fled at the approach of this wonderful and daring man. With his sword he severed the bands of about ten of his fellow-prisoners. These rushed and seized weapons from their enemies the Burmans and severed the bands of all their fellow prisoners, and the entire Siamese party pursued, assailed and slew many of the Burmans in the fortification, the remainder fled, and the fortification was captured. . . " (2)

Material of this kind provides a strong indication of the unity of historical and literary methods of treating a subject in the traditional Thai cultural environment. The Ultimate influence of ancient India is plain.

---

{1} Ibid., p. 23.  
{2} Ibid., p. 24.

The costume and ornaments worn by a royal personage when he goes to war are not much different from those worn in the time of peace. They are mostly the same, except for the war sangwān and the chalōng-ong song praphāt which are sometimes mentioned in the place of the ordinary sangwan and ordinary upper garment, in order to emphasize that it is a war costume. His personal weapon is also mentioned. The soldiers in the army wear less elaborate costumes: the loin-cloth fastened round the waist with a belt, the upper garment and the headdress or head-scarf. These are of colour contrast. In Dālang, there is a mention of a general wearing armour and headdress while the general's deputy wearing a tunic with the device of a lion printed upon it.

The army on the march generally consists of the vanguard, the centre, the right wing, the left wing and the rear. If the chief of the army is a king or a prince, we shall find a passage describing the royal regalia and his decorated conveyance - war horse, elephant, or chariot. The march starts at an auspicious moment, fixed by the court astrologers, and is accompanied by a musical band. Then the tumultuous uproar occurs by the shouts of soldiers, the sounds made by horses, elephants, chariot-wheels and the clatter of weapons. The description of the battle array, such as in the form of naga, garuda, lion, eagle, or lotus,

and the description of the setting up of camp at a suitable site can be found throughout Inao.

At the battle field where the two well-prepared armies face each other, a negotiation between the chiefs starts and it usually ends in a single combat witnessed by all the rest of the soldiers. The chiefs fight for victory while the retinue fight for their chiefs. If one chief is captured or killed, his retinue will flee in utter confusion. The victorious troops follow in pursuit to capture the routed and confiscate their belongings.<sup>(1)</sup>

It is noticeable that the use of elephants, or chariots,<sup>(2)</sup> is very rare in battle. The elephants and chariots mostly serve as the medium of transport prior to the launching of the campaign. The soldiers fight on horseback as well as on foot. In scenes of warfare in Dālang, four royal chiefs are seated on their elephants and another royal chief is riding in his chariot, but such occurrences may be regarded as exceptional. In the first case, the two princes of Pratāhon who are seated on the elephants are making their journey back to their city. They happen to get involved in

---

(1) This is typical of the fantastic description of the South-east Asian warfare in the former days. Such military organization is also described in the Thai treatise on the art of warfare. See: Tamrā Phichai Songkhrām Kham Klōn, Bangkok, 1930; H.G. Quaritch Wales, Ancient South-east Asian Warfare, London, 1952.

(2) In contrast to Thai panegyric and narrative poetry, e.g. Yuan Phāi and Phra Lō, where elephant charges are described.

fighting with Misā Pramangkuning who challenges him with  
insulting words. The latter, however, fights on foot. The  
other two chiefs - the King and the Prince of Mongkon -  
who are seated on their elephants on the battlefield are  
captured by Panyī's magic rope and are beheaded before the  
elephant charges start. The King of Pamā-se who is riding  
in his chariot commands his soldiers to fight, but, when his  
adversary approaches him with a challenge, he surrenders  
without fighting. In Inao, the poets also mention only  
fighting on horseback and on foot. The elephants are used  
in tearing down the enemy's camp.

The image of battle in Dālang is influenced by the ancient military rule. We find that the warriors attack similarly armed opponents, for example -

The curve-pointed spearmen against the  
curve-pointed spearmen,  
The rapier-holders against the rapier-holders,  
The lancers against the lancers, swaying  
their lances  
In hands with skill and bravery;  
The shield-holders encounter the shield-holders;  
The swordsmen fight bravely against the swordsmen. (4)

Vivid descriptions of warriors rushing to smite their opponents are given in both poems. A general in Dālang is fatally wounded, his entrails coming out of the wounds.

- (1) King Rama I, Dālang, pp. 403-410.
- (2) Ibid., pp. 808-811.
- (3) Ibid., pp. 435-437.
- (4) Ibid., p. 225.

He falls down from the horseback, but

He subdues the pains with wrath.  
 Pushing his entrails back immediately,  
 He wraps his abdomen tightly.  
 Then, pulling out his kris, he pursues  
 The enemies in extreme anger.  
 Overtaking one, he grasps his (enemy's) hair,  
 Snatches him down from horseback  
 And stabs him to death.  
 He rushes on the other soldiers.  
 Many are wounded and some are killed  
 By his intensified force.  
 Finally, his energy expires;  
 Then he falls down, and dies. (1)

Magical intervention frequently occurs in the martial theme in Dālang. The hero acquires magic from a hermit. He can make himself invulnerable and invisible, and can employ incantations to make the others fall fast asleep or transform himself into any other figure. The heroine also acquires magic from the divine ancestor, and so do her ladies-in-waiting, after having been transformed into men. These characters make use of magic when they get involved in fighting and always gain victory, no matter how skilful in magic their enemies are.

The divine aspect is associated with the magical aspect in the martial theme. Apart from the human preparations which involve normal magical practices, communications with the divine world take place and the warriors are emboldened by supernatural aids from the deities. The Mongkon war in

---

(1) Ibid., pp. 757-8.





In one of the martial preparations in Inao,  
we find:

Hearing the news of war,  
The cowards' hearts pound with awe.  
Pretending that they have fever,  
They ask their friends to inform their master  
of their sickness.  
Some bold warriors boast of themselves,  
Making loud noises in the camp.  
They boast of their abundant knowledge,  
Their talismans and incantations. (1)

The two quoted passages show that Inao displays  
not only the warriors' bravery but also their reverse side.

#### Amatory Aspect

Though fighting is the favourite topic in both  
Dālang and Inao, the element of love relationship plays a  
more dominant part in the dramatic appeal of the poems. It  
centres round the characters of royal parentage who reveal  
their emotional weakness. Woman's beauty is the main factor  
which brings love at first sight, followed by restlessness  
and wailings. The reactions of love-stricken personages  
are described in a vivid manner. We find two striking ones  
in Inao - the King of Čhōrakā and the Prince of Kamangkuning  
- who are fascinated by the portrait of the Princess of Dāhā.  
It happens that -

Love's passion, like a Kalpa fire, consumes his heart  
And the virtuous King (Čhōrakā) collapses to unconscious-  
ness. (2)

---

(1) Ibid., p. 128.  
(2) Ibid., p. 233.

Similarly, the Prince of Kamangkuning feels  
as if the portrait is -

A disc of gold shining into his eyes,  
And he becomes overwhelmed with ardent love.  
Folding the paper, hiding it in his waist-band,  
He yearns for her with throbbing heart  
And suddenly swoons upon horseback. (1)

Inao is the typical hero. He takes part as a sentimental lover who can be easily charmed by woman's beauty and is always becoming involved in various complications because of his amorous attitude. The beginning part of Dalang and Inao inform us that the five queens of different ranks —Pramaisuri, Madēwī, Matō, Likū and Maolā-ngī— are confined to the four god-created states while the other kings of minor states have only one queen each. It points out the superiority of the Divine Race. However, after the omens of glory which accompany Inao's birth, the court seers prophesy that he will grow up to be a great king who marries ten queens. This particular elaboration, on the one hand, exalts him from the start to be an extraordinary being among the divine descendants, and, on the other hand, provides a convincing prediction that he is fated to meet many loves in his life.

Though the story of Dālang does not develop to

---

(1) Ibid., p. 251.

the marriage in Kālang, it displays Inao's numerous wives before he ascends the throne of Kurēpan. They can be listed respectively as follows:

Durīdōrasā, one of the princesses serving in the  
royal household of Kurēpan.

Kēn Busbā Sārī, the daughter of a poor forester.  
(Inao's first love)

Busbā Sārī, the Princess of Pancharākan.

Kattikā Sārī, the Princess of Pakamā-ngan.

Nusātan, the Queen of the City of Women.

Āhīntarā Wātī, the Princess of Pataram.

Yang Yang Sārī, the Princess of Manyāpā-et.

Kēn Pralā-ngū, one of the court ladies in Manyāpā-et.

The seven Princesses of the seven vassal states  
of Mongkon.

Busbā Kāloh, the Princess of Dāhā.  
(Inao's betrothed)

The complete version of Inao tells us about the names and ranks of Inao's ten queens:

Āhīntarā Wātī - Pramaisurī, right side.  
(The Princess of Manyā - Inao's first love)

Busbā Nu'ng Rat - Pramaisurī, left side.  
(The Princess of Dāhā - Inao's betrothed)

Māyā Rasmī - Madēwī, right side.  
(The Princess of Pakamā-ngan)

Sakāra Wātī - Madēwī, left side.  
(The Princess of Pancharākan)

Busbā Wilit - Matō, right side,  
(The Princess of Pamansalat)

Busbā Kančhanā - Matō, left side.  
(The Princess of Wangkan)

(1)  
Ranā Karatikā - Likū, right side.  
(The Princess of Payang)

Qrasā - Likū, left side.  
(The Princess of Kurabumī)

Surankančhā Sārī - Maolā-ngī, right side.  
(The Princess of Wala-ngit)

(2)  
Hongyāyā - Maolā-ngī, left side. (3)

Their relationships with Inao are of different categories. Kēn Pralā-ngū and the seven Princesses of the vassal states of Mongkon (in Dālang), Busbā Wilit, Ranā Karatikā, Qrasā, Surankančhā Sārī and Hongyāyā (in Inao) are not given any speaking roles. Kēn Pralā-ngū is mentioned as a court lady who falls in love with Dālang, or Inao in disguise, and expresses her affection while he is performing a shadow-play. She is put into prison by the Princes of Manyāpā-et for that inconsiderate behaviour. When Inao is chosen to be the ruler of that state after the rebellion, he releases her and reciprocates her love by appointing her to be his chief concubine. The other non-speaking characters whose names are cited above are all hostages sent to Inao by their parents who acknowledge his suzerainty.

---

(1) This name slightly differs from the first mention in the text, in p. 245, which appears as Ratanā Ratikā.

(2) In the text, pp. 582-3, there is a mention of two princesses named Yāyā Sārī and Mā-nganyāyā, from Tamā-se and Patālang respectively, being sent to Inao. Hongyāyā may be one of these two, as slight variants in appellation can occur by different poets.

(3) King Rama II, Inao, p. 1080.

Among the speaking ones, Durīdōrasā (in Dālang) is Inao's first concubine. His parents offer her to him when he reaches the marriageable age. She plays a short role, only in a love scene in the beginning of the story, and fades out as an important character.

Another short love relationship is mentioned between Inao in disguise and Nusātan (in Dālang) who adopts him as her consort and lets him share the throne of the City of Women. He deserts her afterwards to seek for other adventures in other places.

Āchintarā Wātī (in Dālang) sees Inao in a dream and falls in love with him. At that time, he is practising austerities as a hermit on a mountain. She gets divine assistance through which he is enticed to her palace and marries her. However, he deserts her to go on searching for his lost betrothed. During his absence, she gives birth to a son who, later on, succeeds in finding him and persuading him to return to her. He leaves her again for the Mongkon war, taking his son along to the battlefield. We find no further information about her, because, after gaining a victory over Mongkon and becoming its ruler, Inao meets his betrothed and follows after her to Kālang where the reunion occurs.

Kattikā Sārī and Yang Yang Sārī (in Dālang) are comparable to Māyā Rasmī, Sakāra Wātī and Busbā Kančhanā

(in Inao) , being given to Inao when their states fall under his power and becoming his queens. A son is born to Yang Yang Sārī later.

Busbā Sārī (in Dālang) plays an interesting part as a princess who not only resembles Inao's first love but also shares the same name, as if fated to supplant the executed forest girl and demolish Inao's grief soon after that tragic incident. She is on a tour, accompanied by her parents, her attendants and an army, when Inao comes across her and takes her away by force because of the strength of his desire. Though Inao does not reveal his real identity, her father knows about it from the hermit. Pleased with Inao's exalted birth and appearance, her father gives her hand to him in marriage despite her betrothal with the Prince of Saṅha-unū.

In both poems, Inao's first love and betrothed play the most influential role in his life. His first love who causes distraction from his betrothed is separated from him unexpectedly (forever by death in Dalang, but for a long time by a war and other incidents in Inao). The meeting with his betrothed, the matchless beauty on earth, who is due to marry one of her suitors, incurs his anguish in repentance:

Lying or sitting,  
He feels as if being amidst the Kalpa fire.

Overwhelmed with grief, he looks miserable.  
Clasping his arms around his knees, he loses  
consciousness  
And tears fall down his face.  
At meal-time, he is absent-minded and forgets  
to chew,  
But turns around to look for her.  
"How can I have a glimpse of you  
So that my heart will be refreshed?"  
At bath-time, he takes his bath;  
The touch of water is like a burning fire. (1)

Though successful in breaking up her marriage, Inao suffers more by another unexpected incident which leads to the loss of her. Even after the long search under the god's spell, and the discovery, Inao's married life turns out to be unhappy at an early stage, as he fails to become reconciled with his first love who is appointed to be his chief queen. Moreover, his betrothed who becomes his other chief queen is separated from him by her mother. With his sister's assistance, he regains her on condition that he will conciliate his first love. All problems are solved at last when he makes another effort to pacify his first love and meets with success.

The poets' descriptions concentrate more on Inao's amatory feelings than on his prowess in warlike exploits. It is noticeable that though he awakes interest and admiration for his divine blood, personality and power, his emotional weakness makes him less ideal and perfect.

(1) Ibid., p. 448.



Passion always rules his heart, and he is best known as a philanderer who lures girls with pleasing words. His affection is unstable. Even during the search for his lost beloved, he is still eager to gain other beautiful princesses. In Inao, he blames Sangkhamarata for falling in love with the wife of another man, but when he himself meets Sakāra Nu'ng Rat, the Princess of Kālang, he is fascinated by her beauty and tries to win her hand even though she is his cousin's betrothed. His lawless passion is also found in the nun episode. The mere information that there is a beautiful nun on a mountain makes him long for her and devise ways to have her as his wife.

Sunthōn Phū wrote in his *Phra Aphaimanī*, with reference to Inao, that "excessive love tends to die out very soon, like Inao who deserts Čhintarā.<sup>(1)</sup>" It is true that Inao's first love is very great. Čhintarā Wātī is everything to him, and he really wants her to be his chief queen. He stays with her in Manyā, ignores his father's summons, and refuses to marry his betrothed:

Though all arrangements have been made,  
 Don't wait for me.  
 If anyone asks for Busbā's hand,  
 Let his wish be fulfilled. (2)

---

(1) Sunthōn Phū, *Phra Aphaimanī*, Bangkok, 1924, p. 61.  
 (2) King Rama II, *Inao*, p. 212.

The poets describe Inao's feelings in a vivid manner - his reluctance to part when he is obliged to give military assistance to Dāhā, his distress while being far from Čhintarā and his longing to return to her immediately after the war. But, when he meets Busbā who is much more beautiful than Čhintarā, he forgets the latter completely. In his thoughts while wailing in repentance, Čhintarā becomes a crow which he has blindly admired, and Busbā is a swan which he has neglected. His marriage with Čhintarā is arranged by King Dāhā, but she cannot regain his affection. The reconciliation is made just to please Busbā's mother.

Inao possesses the gift of talking, but it is in the amatory aspect that his words betrays his duplicity. After abducting Busbā to the cave, he pleads for her sympathy by defaming Čhintarā:

It is not that I wanted her.  
 She started first, giving me the chance;  
 My weak heart was then misled.  
 Her relationship with me — only a lover.  
 I did not consider her as a wife. (1)

He lures Busbā by continuing with a consolation:

Between you and me, it is understood,  
 The betrothal has been made since childhood.  
 Though I have had a hundred wives,  
 They shall be your subordinates  
 According to the custom of the Divine Race. (2)

---

(1) Ibid., p. 515.  
 (2) Ibid., p. 516.

When he tries to pacify Chintarā after she has become his Pramaisurī, he says:

I asked His Majesty to send for you  
To join the marriage as my chief queen.

He tells her why he left Manyā for many years:

Since the war broke out, I had to come (to Dāhā)  
To fight for the Divine Race.  
Later Busbā vanished; and, by the King's  
command,  
I had to search for her all over the forests.(2)

The use of supernatural aid in talking does not occur as in Khun Chāng Khun Phaen, the indigenous story, in which the hero depends on incantations. Inao weakens every heart by his own talent.

The cultural atmosphere of Dālang and Inao is that of male polygamy and female monogamy. A woman once married is bound by ties of loyalty to her husband. If the latter deserts her, she can do nothing but remain single. If she is lucky to regain his affection, she may have a happy reunion afterwards. If the couple are separated alive, each may search for one another. A Hindu custom which requires the widow's self-immolation on her husband's funeral pyre is introduced into some circumstances where royal death is concerned.

Tears and sighs are the common expression of a person in love, and the way of showing affection is to



The rest withering, not blooming as usual. (1)  
 The deer forget the area where young leaves abound.

In Dālang, there are 9 and in Inao 5 scenes of love involving Inao. In both poems, there is a similar structure to the developed love-scene. First, the approach through conversation, then physical contact between the lovers. The description is realistic to this point. For the rest of love itself, the convention is to provide a symbolic description, for example —

The rising sun shines;  
 The lotus is refreshed;  
 The petals open  
 And gladly welcome sunlight; (2)  
 The bee floats down (to the lotus).

Or,

Rains falls  
 Upon the golden flower;  
 The petals open; (3)  
 The bee visits the flower with delight.

### Divine and Magical Aspects

In the story of the Divine Race, the divine world and the human world are not far apart. The deity Patārakālā always cares for the reputation and happiness of his descendants. He often leaves his heavenly abode and

- 
- (1) King Rama II, Inao, pp. 547-48.  
 (2) King Rama I, Dālang, p. 27.  
 (3) King Rama II, Inao, p. 526.

comes down to earth on important occasions, especially when the hero or the heroine falls into trouble. His role is, therefore, comparable to that of Indra in the Buddhist Jatakas. Apart from paying visits to the princes of the Divine Race after their birth and giving individual kris to each of them, <sup>(1)</sup> Patārakālā intervenes in other incidents as follows:

In Dālang,

1) He rescues Inao and Inao's followers from <sup>(2)</sup> being drowned by shipwreck.

2) He transforms himself into a centipede in the court of Dāhā. It leads to the first meeting between Inao and Busbā <sup>(3)</sup> (his betrothed).

3) He rescues Busbā from being burnt alive when she has to immolate herself on her bridegroom's funeral <sup>(4)</sup> pyre.

4) He transforms Busbā and her ladies-in-waiting into men, giving an individual kris to each, blessing and casting a spell on Busbā which inhibits her from recognising <sup>(5)</sup> the disguised Inao.

5) He tells Inao's cousin in his dream where

---

(1) King Rama I, Dālang, pp. 6,7,9; King Rama II, Inao, pp. 18, 22, 24.

(2) p. 186.

(3) p. 275.

(4) p. 390.

(5) pp. 393-7.

(1)  
to find Inao.

6) He creates a hermitage with beautiful surroundings for Inao, his brother and his cousin when they decide to perform austerities as hermits. (2)

7) He tells the transformed Busbā to search for Inao. (3)

8) He tells Busbā to go to Kālang where the King and her other two relatives are imprisoned by the King's son. He comforts those three captives in their dreams and shortens the journey for Busbā when she comes to release them. (4)

9) He rescues Inao from being murdered in a rebel in Manyāpā-et. (5)

10) He gives an order to a divine attendant, who is comparable to Vissakamma in the Buddhist Jatakas, to create a hermitage with beautiful surroundings for Busbā and her ladies-in-waiting whom he retransforms into their real identities. (6)

All these interventions are meant to release misfortune and render happiness to the Divine Race.

- 
- (1) p. 416.  
 (2) pp. 429-30.  
 (3) p. 432.  
 (4) p. 527-8.  
 (5) pp. 572, 578.  
 (6) p. 976.

In Inao,

1) He steals one of Busbā's portraits from the sleeping artist and causes an event which makes Inao suffer from love.<sup>(1)</sup>

2) He transforms himself into a golden stag and entices Wiyāsakam, the Prince of Kamangkuning, to find Busbā's portrait which is left beneath a tree in the forest.<sup>(2)</sup>

3) He creates a storm to carry Busbā away from the neighbourhood of the cave.<sup>(3)</sup>

4) He consoles Busbā in the forest, then disguises her and her ladies-in-waiting as men, giving an individual kris to each, and casts a spell on Busbā.<sup>(4)</sup>

5) He tells the disguised Busbā in her dream to search for Inao.<sup>(5)</sup>

6) He consoles Busbā in her dream when she feels worried about the war in which she has to take part in fighting.<sup>(6)</sup>

7) He helps Busbā to kill the enemy on the battlefield.<sup>(7)</sup>

8) He transforms himself into a peacock and

- 
- (1) p. 231.  
 (2) p. 248.  
 (3) p. 560.  
 (4) p. 562.  
 (5) pp. 610-11.  
 (6) p. 709.  
 (7) p. 720.



entices Siyatrā to Kālang where Inao and Wiyadā are staying in disguise. He also magically shortens the journey for Siyatrā when he is travelling.<sup>(1)</sup>

The main purpose of Patārakālā in these actions is to punish Inao for his misbehaviour.

The loss of the earliest versions of Dālang and Inao and the rewriting done in the early Ratanakosin period possibly caused variations to occur in both stories. Among the dramatic poems composed in the reign of King Rama I, the Rāmakien is the most famous one. It abounds in themes of supernatural power and relations among divine beings, human beings, demons and monkeys. As this story has been popularly known since the Sukhothai period, such themes are familiar to the Thai. They may have been woven into some parts of Dālang because of such great influence from Indic sources. It appears that the heroic deeds of the princes of the Divine Race in Dālang are mostly connected with magic or divine beings. There are 4 episodes dealing with the minor deities who misbehave in heaven and have to suffer on earth by divine condemnation. They pretend to be malicious and let the divine descendants kill them so that they can be release from penalty.

The first deity, living on earth in the form of

---

(1) p. 840.

a demon, kidnaps the Princess of Kālang and leaves her upon a tree. He returns to heaven in his divine form after being killed by the transformed Busbā.<sup>(1)</sup>

The second deity, taking the form of a wild beast, kidnaps Inao's brother. The latter finally kills the accursed deity, thus sending him back to heaven.<sup>(2)</sup>

The third deity, taking the form of a wild buffalo, pretends to be hostile to Inao's son when he is travelling to visit Inao. After being killed and retransformed into divine appearance, the deity magically shortens the journey for Inao's son.<sup>(3)</sup>

The fourth deity, taking the form of a crocodile, pretends to frighten Inao and is killed by the latter. Before returning to heaven, the deity gives Inao a magic rope by which Inao can conquer his enemies.<sup>(4)</sup>

The divine aspect as found in Dālang is mostly blended with the magical aspect, especially in the martial theme.<sup>(5)</sup> Inao is more human. Apart from the role of Patāra-kālā as already illustrated and the episode of the abduction of Yāran,<sup>(6)</sup> there is no other practice of magic and not a single accursed deity is mentioned in Inao. Further examples

- 
- (1) King Rama I, Dālang, pp. 587-96.  
 (2) Ibid., pp. 600-1.  
 (3) Ibid., pp. 698-701.  
 (4) Ibid., pp. 797-800.  
 (5) See pp. 149-50 in this chapter.  
 (6) King Rama II, Inao, pp. 870-4.

from Dālang which indicate the preference for associating the divine world and magic with the human world can be given as follows:

1) The Prince of Kālang leaves for the forest where he prays and makes offerings to a tree deity in request of a magic rope. The deity appears before him and fulfils his wish.<sup>(1)</sup> This is comparable to an episode in the Rāmakien of King Rama I in which Ravana's son prays for a<sup>(2)</sup> divine weapon.

2) A tree deity appears before the King of Pataram who worships him with offerings. As the King's daughter wants to marry Inao whom she sees in a dream, the King needs divine help. The deity sends a magic hawk to entice Inao to the Princess of Pataram.<sup>(3)</sup> This is also comparable to Lilit Phra Lō, the narrative poem composed in the seventeenth century, in which Phra Lō is enticed<sup>(4)</sup> by a magic cock sent from Pū Chao Saming Phrāi.

3) The transformed Busbā visits an island which is famous for the oracle given by a deity. She makes a request for the divine information about her long lost betrothed. Then everybody in that place hears the voice of<sup>(5)</sup> the invisible deity telling her where to find him.

- 
- (1) King Rama I, Dālang, pp. 516-7.
  - (2) King Rama I, Rāmakien, pp. 609-10.
  - (3) King Rama I, Dālang, pp. 455-7.
  - (4) Lilit Phra Lō, Bangkok, 1965, pp. 59-60.
  - (5) King Rama I, Dalang, pp. 870-1.

There are no incidents of these types in Inao. Though an episode of making a request for an oracle exists, the deity's supernatural power is not described. The second queen of Dāhā persuades Busbā to ask the Holy Image at Mt. Wilismārā about her true partner. The voice which everybody hears in reply is not that of the deity, but it is the voice of Inao who hides himself behind the Holy Image.<sup>(1)</sup> This is typical of the reduced role played by divine and magical aspects in Inao as compared with Dālang and its attenuated nature. This operates in favour of increased emphasis on the human aspects of the story as it became naturalized in the Thai literary environment.

---

(1) King Rama II, Inao, pp. 418-22.

## CHAPTER VI

## VERSIFICATION

Thai versification is of several forms: Kl̄on, Khl̄ong, R̄ai, K̄ap and Chan. Each of them, with numerous subdivisions, differs in syllable count, pattern of syllable groups and rhyming. The Lakh̄on texts, which can be said to have existed as early as the middle of the eighteenth century according to reliable tradition, were composed in a particular verse form known as 'Kl̄on Bot Lakh̄on', a subdivision of Kl̄on which is believed by the Thai people to be indigenous. A great number of lullabies and country-songs connected with festivities have been orally handed down from the olden days, revealing the primary function and varied characteristics of Kl̄on.

## Examples.

1. nok khao oei

khan tae chao chon yen

khan thoet mae cha fang siang len

nu'a yen chao khon diao oei

- Lullaby.

syllabic structure: 3 - 5

7 - 6

rhyme scheme:

```

      o o o           o o o o o
o o o o o o o o o o o o o o

```

2. mae sī oei

mae sī sã hong

choen cháo mǎ long

ao mae sōi thōng

choen pī choen klōng

choen mae thōng sī oei

- Mae Sī song.

syllabic structure: 3 - 4

4 - 4

4 - 5

rhyme scheme:

```

      o o o           o o o o o
o o o o           o o o o o
o o o o           o o o o o

```

3. phitsathān oei

mū nu'ng thū' phān dōk chōk

koet mǎ chāt dai saen dai

khō hai dai phuak bān krabōk

- Phitsathān song.

syllabic structure: 4 - 6

6 - 7

rhyme scheme:

```

      o o o o      o o o o o o
      |-----|
o o o o o o      o o o o o o
      |-----|

```

Since these forms of Klôn have been used for singing with additional melody in between the words, they do not contain many syllables in a wak (half-line). The introductory wak normally contains fewer syllables than others.

It is worth noticing that Klôn Bot Lakhôn in the early period, for example in the extant version of Nāng Manōrā, is comparable to the ancient songs in rhyme scheme:

krayot khao

nāng ǎhao mae song sāttrā chai

ǎhap sai nu'a kēsā

sūrāṅkhanāṅ nōk nai

thā tōṅ thī dī hai chū' nam

thā tōṅ thī rāi hai chū' fai

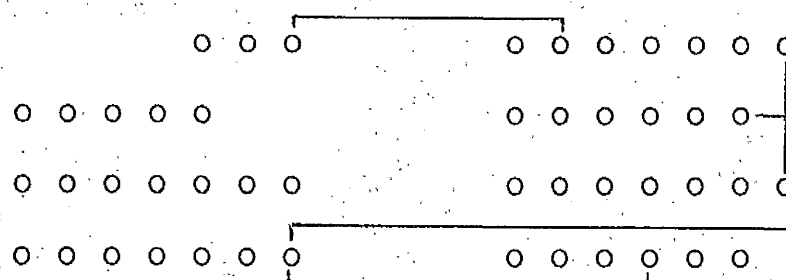
ǎha dī ǎha rāi prakān dai

hai hen khāṅ nai tamrā (1)

---

(1) Bot Lakhôn Khrang Krung Kao Ru'ang Nāng Manōrā  
Kap Sangthōṅ, Bangkok, 1919, p. 28.

rhyme scheme:



Or,

mu'a nan

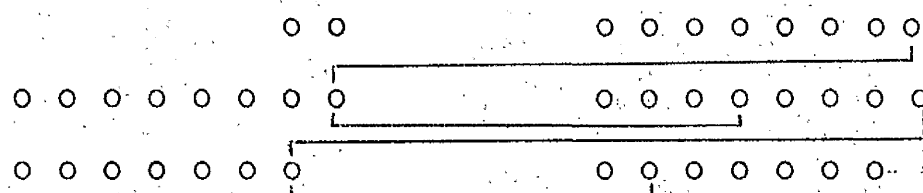
eowan khwan khao ǎhao manōrā

pen plā taphian thōng lōng nam mā

khū' dang phrayā rācha hong thōng  
lōng khao nai uan chuan hō rōng

mi kōng nai sa phra khongkhā (1)

rhyme scheme:



The rhyme scheme of the first three lines in the first passage quoted from Nāng Manōrā can be compared with the song no. 2 (Mae Sī song) and those in the second passage can be compared with the song no. 3 (Phitsathān song). Such similarities indicate that Klōn Bot Lakhōn might have been adapted from the ancient songs and in a

---

(1) Ibid., p. 53.



later stage developed to have the regular rhyming which is found in the latter part of Nāṅg Manōrā, for example —

manōrā

dai fang phrān pā mā prāsai

nāṅg ǎchu'ng yāṅg thao kao khu'n pai

āsai nai hāṅg thī klāṅ dong

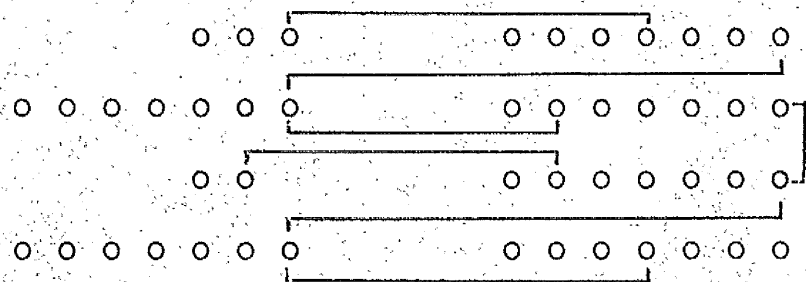
phrān phrai

ǎhut tai kō fai rē thiao song

phithak raksā nāṅg chōmyong

klua nāṅg ǎcha long lop nī pai (1)

rhyme scheme:



This pattern, having a set of couplets rhymed with one another (the last word of the first couplet rhymes with the last word of the first line of the next couplet), also occurs in the beginning part of Nāṅg Manōrā but it is not regularly used. The following canto, for instance, does not end with a full couplet:

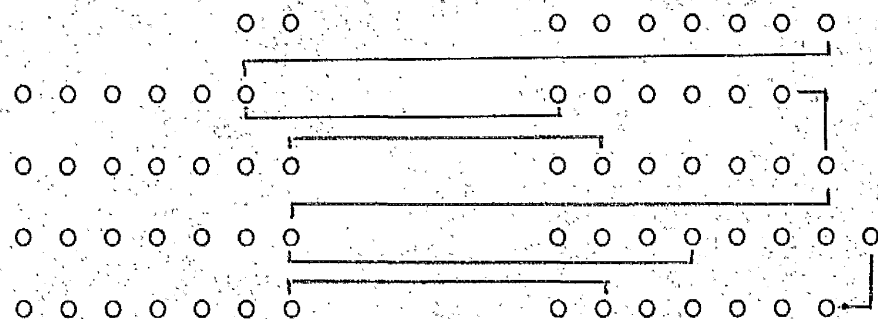
---

(1) Ibid., p. 69.

dai yin

ong thai phra rācha mādā  
 nāng mae kō wing ōk mā  
 mā hām kae lūk sāmwai  
 ǎchao sǎi sut rak khōng mae ā  
 dā tā hōrā nī wā rai  
 tua kae kō mai kōhok sai  
 kae kō thāi pai tām su'ng tamrā  
 ǎchao fang kham mae thoet lūk kaeo  
 khran laeo ǎcha pen kam wērā<sup>(1)</sup>

rhyme scheme:



It is probable that the standard form of Klōn was set when Klōn was written down, because one could see the irregular structure and rhyming more clearly than while hearing extempore songs. The love-poems in the middle of the eighteenth century serve as early evidence of the adjusted Klōn-pattern which has been in use up to the present day.

(1) Ibid., p. 32.

The earliest date of the written Klōn is not known for certain. In Tamrap Thāo Sī Čhulālak, one of the prose literary works ascribed to the Sukhothai period, appear three cantos of Klōn. But, the language used and the mention of westerners, especially Americans, make it impossible that it is a genuine work of that early age. The original version, if it ever existed, might have become impaired and needed revision; then some poet rewrote it during the Ratanakosin period but retained the name of Lady Nophamāt who was the original author.

The Palace Law enacted in the middle of the fifteenth century mentioned Sēphā as one of the royal entertainments at nighttime. Sēphā is composed in Klōn, but we do not have any evidence of written Sēphā dated to that period.

An anonymous love-poem in Klōn, written on a wall in Čhanthra Phisān Palace at Lopburi, has been assumed to be the work of Somdet Phra Nārāi (1656-88). It consists of 76 khamklōn (lines), beginning with --

Chōm hōm hōm hoen wēhā huan  
tae hōi hā mi dai wen thiwā khruan  
khuan sa-nguan nēt thasanā nāng<sup>(1)</sup>  
.....

---

(1) See: Prachum Phlēngyāo, Pt. 7, Bangkok, 1924, pp. 44-54.

The favoured verse forms in the reign of Somdet Phra Nārāi were Khlōng and Chan which can be seen in the literary pieces produced by the court poets, such as Kamsuan Sī Prāt (written in Khlōng), Su'a Khō Kham Chan, Samuthakhōt Kham Chan, Anirut Kham Chan and Dusdī Sangwoei Klōm Chāng Kham Chan. There is no mention of Klōn in Čhindāmanī, the earliest text-book on Thai language and versification, written in 1672 by Phra Hōrāthibodī. It may be, then, that the quoted love-poem belongs to a later generation, its features being comparable to those of the eighteenth century Klōn. For example, one of the love-poems written by Prince Thamathibēt runs as follows:

pāng phī māt samān sumān samōn  
 dang mǎi du'an mǎi duang dārākōn  
 an lōi phū'n amphōn phayōm phrāi  
 maen phī hoen doen dai nai wēhāt  
 thu'ng čha māt kō mai sia su'ng raeng mǎi  
 mi dai chom kō phō dai damnoen chāi  
 miang mǎi rasmī phimān mōng (1)

.....

Klōn in its standard pattern consists of bot (couplets) linked to one another by a structural rhyme. Each bot consists of 2 khamklōn (lines) and each khamklōn

---

(1) See: Prachum Phlēngyāo Khwām Kao, Bangkok, 1924, pp. 54-60.

consists of 2 wak (half-lines). The 4 wak in each bot are called Wak Salap, Wak Rap, Wak Rộng and Wak Song respectively.<sup>(1)</sup> Each wak consists of 7-9 syllables.

o o o o o o o o o	o o o o o o o o o	- khamklộn	} Bot
(Wak Salap)	(Wak Rap)		
o o o o o o o o o	o o o o o o o o o	- khamklộn	}
(Wak Rộng)	(Wak Song)		
o o o o o o o o o	o o o o o o o o o	- khamklộn	} bot
(Wak Salap)	(Wak Rap)		
o o o o o o o o o	o o o o o o o o o	- khamklộn	}
(Wak Rộng)	(Wak Song)		

Rhyming which is the essential feature of Thai poetry is of two kinds: the structural rhyme (samphat nặc)<sup>(2)</sup> and the additional rhyme (samphat nai). Between two couplets the last word of the first couplet rhymes with the last word of the next couplet which contains the identical pattern of rhyming as the former one.

Example:

laeo ǎchiam tua duai wā tua mu'an hínhõi

ǎcha rū' rõi pai khaeng phra suri sai

kõ mu'an nang mu'a yang mai õk fai

rū' ǎcha pai choet chĩ prachan ngān

(1) For a love-poem or a narrative poem in Klôn, the first bot consists of Wak Rap, Wak Rộng and Wak Song; all the following bot consist of 4 wak each (having Wak Salap before Wak Rap).

(2) The English translation of these terms follows the usage of E.H.S. Simmonds. See: Siamese Dawn Poetry, ed. A.T. Hatto, The Hague, 1965, p. 190, n. 11.

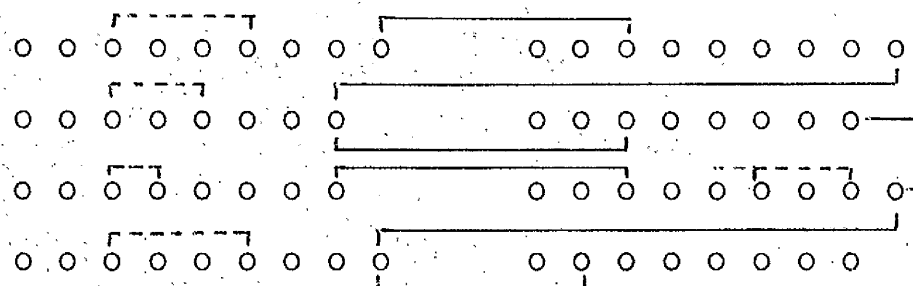
thang phērī pīphāt ko khatson

thang rai khon čhēračhā čha wā khān

dang choet chū' hai khao lū' duai lāi phān

pramān thoet mi chai čha kiatkan (1)

(2)  
rhyme scheme:



There is some affinity between the standard  
(3)  
pattern of Klōn and Kāp Yānī in rhyming. Below is an example  
of Kāp Yānī from a love-poem of the Ayuthaya period:

tua nāi mu'an nu'ng nāi

pramong bet thī khīt pōng

plā nōi nai plaeng nōng

ao yu'a lō hai long kin

matchā tua dai khiao

lae chōtchao bō khīt thawin

chōp chāp krachāk kin

kō čha sin chīwā wāng (4)

(1) Prachum Phlengyāo Khwām Kao, p. 2.

(2) The structural rhyme is marked by solid lines and the additional rhyme by dotted lines.

(3) Kāp (Skt. kavya) is applied to a group of verse-forms used especially in narrative dramatic and ceremonial poetry earlier in date than Klōn.

(4) P. Na Pramuanmak, Sip Kawī, Bangkok, 1955, p. 44.

syllabic structure: 5 - 6

5 - 6

rhyme scheme:

```

      o o o o o      o o o o o o o
      |-----|
o o o o o      o o o o o o o
      |-----|
o o o o o      o o o o o o o
      |-----|
o o o o o      o o o o o o o
      |-----|

```

The Yānī form is attested at least as early as the fifteenth century. An extract from the 'Mahāphon' episode<sup>(1)</sup> in Mahāchāt Kham Luang is given below as an example of Yānī dated 1482:

sa kaoo sī mum krai

yū bō klai āt āsom

thī nan pen thī chom

pen pralom pralōm chai

tem duai dōk duang bān

lenchong mānya bang bai

nam chōi chū'n chon sai

khū' nai thēp sa sawan<sup>(2)</sup>

(1) This poem is a translation from Pali into Thai in various verse forms: Rāi, Khlōng, Kāp and Chān (except Klōn). The earliest version was written in 1482 as a work of collaboration by the poets in the court of Somdet Phra Bōroma Trai Lōka Nāt. After the Ayuthaya period, that version became impaired, with six episodes missing. It was completed by the court poets in the reign of King Rama II.

(2) Department of Thai, Triam Udom Su'ksa School, op. cit., p. 108.

There would have been a close relation between Klõn in the middle of the eighteenth century and Kāp Yānī. Both are in the form of couplets, or two-line (four half-line) verses, and contain a similar convention of structural rhyme. Besides, they have a function in common as the metrical types used for singing. Royal lullabies have also been composed in the Yānī form since the Ayuthaya period<sup>(1)</sup>. The Rama I version of Unarut has this type of song woven into the episode dealing with the hero's infancy:

suam chīp phra thūn kramōm  
 khuan pen chhōm kasat som  
 song ngām phō sāmchom  
 choen banthom hai samrān  
 nāng dai nai tai lā  
 chai nāngfā yōt songsān  
 chhak mā thūn botthamān  
 mai khuan phān phra-ong oei  
 chōm phō nī trīnēt  
 rū' kamalēt khanlaihong  
 rū' chōm that chhan long  
 mā lōm lōk hai sōk sūn  
 thu'ng chōm sām pen chao  
 phū pin klao chhak waikūn

---

(1) See: Damrong Rajanubhab, H.R.H. Prince, "Ru'ang Wičhān Hē Chā Lūk Lu'ang", J.S.S., Vol. II, 1942.



mai thiam chōm phra thūn  
 kramōm nōi khā nī oei (1)

The quoted passages exhibit a strict convention of syllabic structure in Kāp Yānī. The first and third wak of every couplet contain 5 syllables each, while the second and fourth wak contain 6 syllables each. The number of syllables in every wak of Klōn varies from 6 to 9. Apart from the syllable count which differentiates Klōn from Kāp Yānī, a special feature of Klōn is that each wak has limiting conventions for the final syllable. Only Wak Salap can end with any tone. The final syllable of Wak Rap requires either the depressed tone (siang ēk) or the period tone (siang thō) or the question tone (siang čatawā). The final syllable of Wak Rōng requires either the circumflex tone (siang trī) or the common tone (siang sāman), and so does the final syllable of Wak Song. Since tone rules of this complex type do not exist in the various types of country Klōn, nor in Manōrā except for the latter part which is unlikely to be earlier than the eighteenth century, we may suppose that they developed when Klōn was established as a written literary form.

The length of a canto of Klōn is theoretically limitless. In Klōn Bot Lakhōn, there is a tune statement on top of some introductory wak. The number of lines is stated at the end of each canto which tends to be rather short.

---

(1) Rama I, King, Unarut, Bangkok, 1920, p. 69.

The introductory wak is the shortest, having only 2-5 syllables; it may consist of 6-8 syllables when it belongs to a descriptive canto.

There are 3 conventional phrases used for introducing the characters:

1. mu'a nan (= and then, at that time) for introducing the major characters or the personages of high rank.

2. bat nan (= and then, at that time) for the minor characters. But in some episodes, when a minor character acts in a prominent role, the introductory phrase is temporarily changed into mu'a nan. For example in the Rāmakien, when Hanumān (the White Monkey) takes part as a hero in pursuit of a demon and meets an accursed celestial nymph in a grotto, the usual introductory phrase for him - bat nan - is replaced by mu'a nan until he leaves the grotto after sending the nymph back to heaven.<sup>(1)</sup>

3. mā čha klāo bot pai (= and now we speak of) for introducing the characters in another incident unconnected with the previous one.

No rhyme is needed between such introductory

---

(1) Rama I, King, Rāmakien, Bangkok, 1949, pp. 1698-1706.

wak and the wak which follows unless the introductory phrase is in the form of the beginning of Klôn Dôk Sôi,<sup>(1)</sup> which may be found in passages describing nature, a royal conveyance, the light-waving rite, a conversation between the hero and the heroine, etc.

### Examples.

Inao:

1. doen oei doen thăng

sông khăng phăng phū'n rū'n rom  
phīliang khiang khôi bangkhom

phra chí chom rukkhachāt dātsadian<sup>(2)</sup>

rhyme scheme:

```

      o o o o   [       ]   o o o o o o
o o o o o o   [       ]   o o o o o o o o
  
```

2. rot oei rot kaeo

phroetphraeo taela kon khonla yāng  
saeng kaeo waeo wap chap naphāng

mī banlang tang klāng bon ru'an rot<sup>(3)</sup>

---

(1) Klôn Dôk Sôi is a four-line verse, with 4 syllables in the introductory wak. The Third syllable is a repetition of the first one, having 'oei' in between. This word 'oei' also serves as the ending of the canto. The rhyme scheme follows the standard pattern of Klôn.

(2) Rama II, King, Inao, p. 37.

(3) Ibid., p. 716.

rhyme scheme:

```

      o o o o      o o o o o o o o o
      |-----|
o o o o o o o o      o o o o o o o o o
      |-----|

```

3. wian oei wian thian

hai wian sãi song wong mã khwā  
 prakhōm inthaphērī pīchwā  
 trae sang bangkalā malāyū (1)

rhyme scheme:

```

      o o o o      o o o o o o o o
      |-----|
o o o o o o o o o      o o o o o o o o
      |-----|

```

4. nōng oei nōng rak

nuanla-ōng phōng phak phiang khaekhai  
 ngām ong song lak wilai  
 phit nai sāraphan pen khwan tã (2)

rhyme scheme:

```

      o o o o      o o o o o o o o
      |-----|
o o o o o o o o      o o o o o o o o
      |-----|

```

Dālang:

1. rot oei rot phet

saeng tret trat tōng phra surisī

---

(1) Ibid., p. 1205.  
 (2) Ibid., p. 179.

sao phanak čhamlak rūčhī

barālī chō tang kračhang rāi<sup>(1)</sup>

rhyme scheme:

```

      o o o o   [         o o o o o o o o ]
o o o o o o o o [         o o o o o o o o ]

```

2. sut oei sut sawāt

nutchanāt mai hen nai ok phī

tae rabom triamtrom thuk nāthī

tae wan phī hen nōng kō tōng čhai<sup>(2)</sup>

rhyme scheme:

```

      o o o o   [         o o o o o o o o ]
ooo o o o o o o o [         o o o o o o o o ]

```

However, this Dōk Sōi style occurs in Dālang in 5 cantos only. We find a preference for having the introductory wak in 2 syllables, such as -

1. doen pai

wāng khao ngao mai phrai sī

ru'ai rū'n phū'n phan mālī

saeng sī sōt sī čhamroen tā<sup>(3)</sup>

2. rot kaeo

phroetphraeo bančhong alongkot

(1) Rama I, King, Dālang, p. 934.

(2) Ibid., p. 13.

(3) Ibid., p. 128.

aek ngōn ōn rathuai chuai chot  
 kling klot bot bang thinakōn (1)

### 3. wian thian

hai wian tae sāi mā khwā  
 purōhit rap waen wian mā  
 sēnā mātayā rap tō pai (2)

### 4. nong rak

nonglak yōt ming mārasi  
 phī mi khrai čha klai sak nāthī  
 čampen laeo phī čha čam pai (3)

The use of two syllables in the introductory wak of Klōn Bot Lakhōn is dated to the Ayuthaya period. Moreover, we find some final syllables of Wak Rap in Dālang having the circumflex tone (siang trī) and the common tone (siang sāman) which also occurred in the old Ayuthaya songs (4) and Lakhōn texts. So this version of Dālang might have been revised early in the reign of King Rama I when the Ayuthaya pattern was still adopted by the poets, and is unlikely to have been revised later than this.

There are two episodes in Dālang dealing with the songs sung by the major characters. It is interesting

---

(1) Ibid., p. 100.

(2) Ibid., p. 578.

(3) Ibid., p. 48.

(4) See: Bot Lakhōn Khrang Krung Kao, 1919; Bot Dōk Sōi Sawan Khrang Krung Kao, 1928; Prachum Bot Mahōrī, 1928.

to note that they have patterns different from Klōn Bot Lakhōn:

The song sung by Inao's consorts in disguise as strolling dancers --

bun phī dai sāng mā

thēwēt mēttā

phā mā samān sanōng

nimnuan khuan chom

dai ruam phirom som sōng

saen sawāy mai khlāt nōng

rak ǎhao mi hai mōng ǎhai oei

rak rū' ǎha thing wai

ǎchon nōng thōng dai hā du'an

khwām rak khrai ǎha mī mu'an

pai lai nu'a laeo chu'an nī oei

rak rū' ǎha thing wai

ana khlōt kō ǎchon yai

wōn payai a-ngā-rā

tām hā patǎhapā-ayī

pān chanī yang mai hen mā

an phūchāi nī lāi nā

ǎhērachā mai mī ǎching oei

ana rū' khrai ǎha mi rak

duai phī mī kangwon nak

thu'ng rak kọ ẳcham ẳcham pai  
                     isatrī mai mī tae ẳchao  
 khăng nu'ng khao ẳcham nọi ẳcham  
                     mai hăn fao ẳchao yū dai  
 khanu'ng ū'n ẳchu'ng pai kộn oei  
                     khanu'ng ū'n ẳcham pai  
 thā bọk hết hai  
                     ẳcham hai pai dōi dī  
 duai endū ana  
                     thī nai loei ẳcham mī  
 koet mā apprī  
                     chen nī mī khō phop oei  
 thā ẳcham bọk tae ẳcham pai  
                     maen mī hai pai ẳcham sia kăn  
 thu'ng phī rak ying dai  
                     mai mī samoe samăn  
 mī hai mī rākhi phăn  
                     ramkhăn kae nuan ẳchao oei<sup>(1)</sup>

This apparently continuous passage can be separated into six cantos:

(a)   bun phī dai săng mǎ  
 thēwēt mēttā  
                     phā mǎ samăn sanōng

---

(1) Rama I, King, Dālang, pp. 649-50.

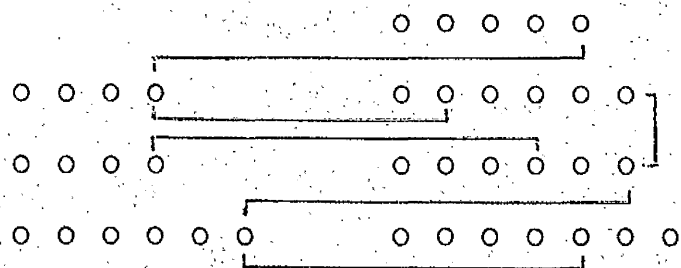


nimnuan khuan chom

dai ruam phirom som sōng  
saen sawāt mai khlāt nōng

rak ǎhao mi hai mōng ǎhai oei

rhyme scheme:



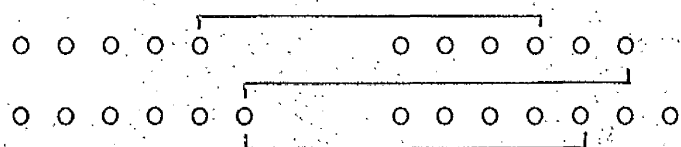
(b)

rak rū' ǎha thing wai

ǎchon nōng thōng dai hā du'an  
khwām rak khrai ǎha mī mu'an

pai lai nu'a laeo chu'an nī oei

rhyme scheme:



(c) rak rū' ǎha thing wai

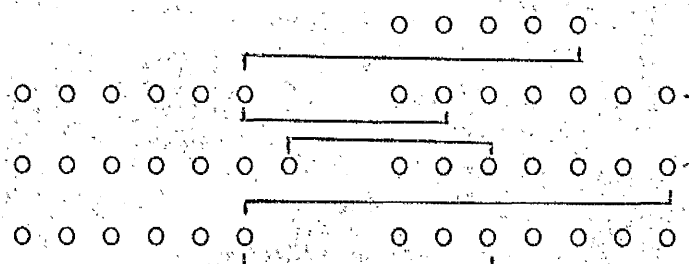
ana khlōt kō ǎchon yai

wōn pai ma-ngum-ma-ngā-rā  
tām hā patǎhapā-ayī

pān chanī yang mai hen mā  
an phūchāi nī lāi nā

ǎhēraǎhā mai mī ǎching oei

rhyme scheme:



(d) ana rū' khrai čha mi rak

duai phī mī kangwon nak

thu'ng rak kọ čham čha pai

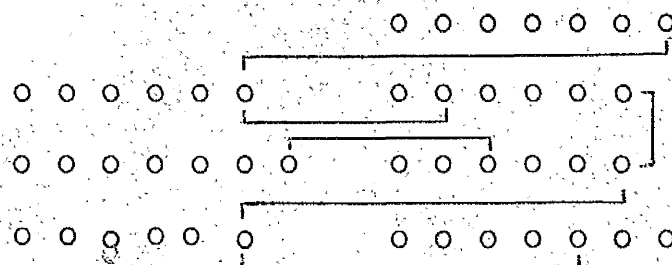
isatrī mai mī tae čhao

khāng nu'ng khao čha nọi čhai

mai hān fao čhao yū dai

khanu'ng ū'n čhu'ng pai kọn oei

rhyme scheme:



(e) khanu'ng ū'n čha pai

thā bọk hēt hai

čha hai pai dōi dĩ

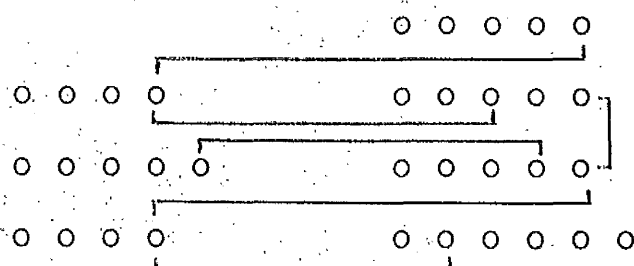
duai endū ana

thī nai loey čha mī

koet mā apprī

chen nī mi khọ phop oei

rhyme scheme:



(f)

thā čha bōk tae čhing pai

maen mi hai pai čha sia kân

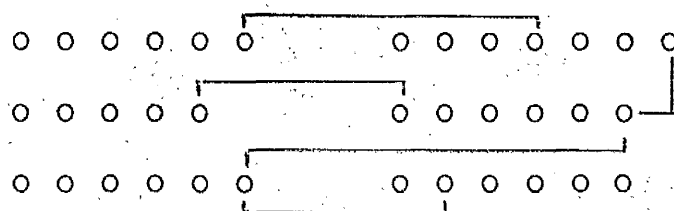
thu'ng phī rak ying dai

mai mī samoe samān

mi hai mī rākhī phān

ramkhān kae nuan čhao oei

rhyme scheme:



The songs sung by Inao who is happy at hearing  
the news of his lost betrothed —

ō čhao ngām pračhong song lak

sāi sut thīrak khōng phī

bandā ngām nai phū'n thōranī

mai mī khrai thiam thiap priap chōm  
nōng

thu'ng ngām chōm apsōn amōn maen

kọ mai maen pramān ku'ng mai thu'ng  
sōng

chōm dai mai mu'an chōm nōng

ngām tōng tit tā yāchhai oei

ō wā yāyī khōng phī ā

mu'arai lao ǎchao ǎcha mā

hai phīyā sawāng rōn

dai hen mu'a ǎchao pen satri

tua phī dai aep naep nuan samōn

khwām rak mā tru'ng ok ōn

tae thōn ǎhit mai wāi khit oei

ō duang yiwā yā ǎhit

mu'a rai ǎcha dai som khit

ǎcha khō chom ǎcharit mu'a pen chāi

tham chanai ǎcha phop prasop kan

phī ǎcha lōp chom khwan ǎchao chōmchāi

ō misā pramangkuning phū phroetphrāi

choen mā hai phīchāi chom oei (1)

This passage can be separated into three cantos. The first one consists of two couplets rhyming with each other and having 'oei' as the final syllable. The second and third ones are similar to the cantos (a), (c), (d) and (e) which have been illustrated above, containing seven

---

(1) Ibid., pp. 665-66.

wak each and also ending with oei.

These examples are not comparable to any other forms occurring in Thai literary texts. The rhyme schemes show general similarity to those of country songs. In the context of the poem, the singers sing extempore, so realistic representations of extempore singing may have been intended.

(1) There are nineteen songs sung by the characters in Inao, and these follow the standard pattern of Klōn. For example —

sāi samōn nōn thoet phī ǎa klōm  
 ǎhao ngām ǎhing phring phrōm dang lēkhā  
 nuan la-ōng phōng phak sōphā  
 dang ǎchanthrā song klot mot monthin  
 ngām nēt dang nēt maru'kha māt  
 ngām khanong wong wāt dang khan sin  
 ǎrachōn ǎn-aen dang kinnarin  
 (2)  
 wang thawin mai wen wāi oei.

However, the section dealing with the shadow-play in Inao contains three other kinds of verse forms: Kāp Yānī, Kāp Chabang and Rāi in 1, 12 and 12 cantos respectively. These have clearly been introduced to simulate the traditional

---

(1) See: Rama II, King, Inao, pp. 361, 432, 434, 532, 533, 650, 651, 686, 687, 688, 744, 745, 1122, 1123.

(2) Ibid., pp. 532-33.

verse form of a shadow-play.

Examples.

Kāp Yānī.

fāi ong phra nong nut  
                     raden busbā song  
 kansaeng rathuai ong  
                     thawī thawēt thu'ng chētthā  
 sōng nāng pralōm plōp  
                     bō chu'a chōp nai atchā  
 ying song phra sōkā  
                     phirai ram rakam čhai<sup>(1)</sup>

rhyme scheme:

o	o	o	o	o	_____	o	o	o	o	o	o
o	o	o	o	o	_____	o	o	o	o	o	o
o	o	o	o	o	_____	o	o	o	o	o	o
o	o	o	o	o	_____	o	o	o	o	o	o

Kāp Chabang.

pāng nan raden montri  
                     phra sadet čhōralī  
                     yang choeng kunung bō mi nān

---

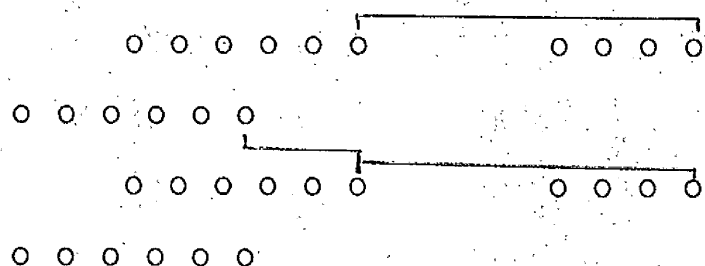
(1) Ibid., p. 931.

yut prathap sālā nā wihān

phrēm phuak bōriwān

kō len yū čhon sonthayā<sup>(1)</sup>

rhyme scheme:



Rāi.

fāi raden montri mī phrathai nu'k

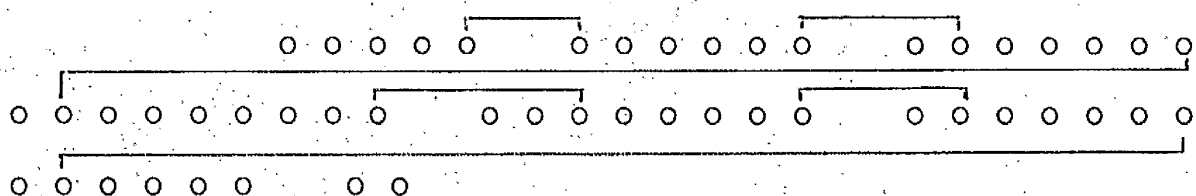
khanu'ng khitthu'ng raden busbā wēlā yen

čha khu'n mā bon kunung phra māi mung čha prasop

phop nāng khit phlāng thāng prathap yap yang

yū yang bannasālā bat nī<sup>(2)</sup>

rhyme scheme:



It is not to be expected that great differences would be found in the metrical structure of these two poems,

(1) Ibid., p. 926.

(2) Ibid., p. 927.

because they were both intended for the same type of theatrical performance and the main verse form used - the Klōn - was fully developed by the middle of the eighteenth century when, according to tradition, the Malay-Indonesian sources from which these poems developed were entering Thailand. However, the frequent occurrence of two-syllable introductory wak, apart from the three conventional introductory phrases for the characters - mu'a nan, bat nan and mā čha klāo bot pai - which are commonly used, suggests that Dālang is the earlier of the two texts. Among 2370 introductory wak in Dālang, only 13 are found to be of normal length, containing 6-9 syllables, and only 5 appear in the Dōk Sōi style; all the rest consist of two syllables each which indicates the Ayuthaya influence. The use of the circumflex tone and the common tone at the end of Wak Rap in Dālang is also comparable to those in old songs composed in the Ayuthaya period. On the other hand, the King Rama II version of Inao demonstrates the consistent use of the standard pattern of Klōn, the only exception being the use of Kāp and Rāi for the shadow-play performance in the nun episode, probably in order to create verisimilitude.

---

(1) See: Rama I, King, Dālang, pp. 234, 245, 260, 273, 300, 440, 508, 697, 804, 896, 937, 967.

(2) Ibid., pp. 13, 627, 934.

(3) Ibid., pp. 450, 452, 453, 454, 458, 560, 608, 735, 1000.



## CHAPTER VII

## POETIC DICTION

The most important influence on the diction of Thai poems is the need to supply appropriately placed syllables for both structural and additional rhymes. This factor is most marked in Chan metre. Not only is the number of the syllables in the line fixed in accordance with the known Sanskrit metrical type but also the measure of each syllable, long or short, is predetermined. In addition to these requirements which are derived from the theory of Sanskrit versification, an important Thai feature not required in the Sanskrit model is introduced. That is — rules for the placing of rhyming syllables, both structural and additional. These features together mean that the poet is very strictly controlled as to his choice of words and, inevitably, has to rely on a high proportion of Sanskrit vocabulary. This is certainly the case with the later and stricter examples of Chan metre composed in the Ratanakosin period.

In the poems with which we are concerned, where the metre is the more flexible Klōn, the need for placing rhyming syllables and certain rules for syllable tone is what restricts the choice of vocabulary. A good example of the

working of this metrical influence is shown by the way in which the 'rāchāsap' or court language is employed. Since the middle of the fourteenth century, the beginning of the Ayuthaya period, the Thai have regarded their monarch as a demi-god, due to Brahministic influence. The court language was then established to mark the sanctity of royalty. Words and phrases referring to the royal families, their properties and their movements are used in conventional expressions. But it is noticeable that literary works, especially those composed in verse, dealing with kings, queens, princes and princesses, contain their own peculiarities in the use of court language. These conventions relate to the needs of the literary form in preference to those required in a realistic representation of court life. Poets customarily make adjustments in the form of the court language term employed so that it fulfils the metrical requirements of its particular context, or court language does not appear in a situation where it would be necessary in real life. The writers of Dālang and Inao followed this tradition and, therefore, the conventional expressions of court language are not so rigidly fixed as they would be in actual court contexts. For instance, the word meaning 'royal father' is found to be altered into several forms —

- wang ǎa hai lū'm chanok chonnani  
phra ǎu'ng mī sunthōm wǎchā (D.)<sup>1</sup>
- an ong phra chanok chonnani  
rak rācha butrī dang duangǎchai (D.)<sup>2</sup>
- phra chanok chonnani kō prīdā  
sanēhā dang duang ru'thai (I.)<sup>3</sup>
- fai raden sirikan chōm yong  
kō trong khao krāp bāt phra bidā (D.)<sup>4</sup>
- yurayāt nāt kōn khlākhlai  
sādet pai fao ong phra bidā (I.)<sup>5</sup>
- phra rācha bidā phū ru'ang rit  
phitsawāt ōrot yotsayong (D.)<sup>6</sup>
- nī champen ǎu'ng ǎam ǎāk pai  
phrō klua phai phra rācha bidā (I.)<sup>7</sup>
- khao fao somdet phra bidā  
thūn thāwāi sārā thandai (D.)<sup>8</sup>
- somdet phra bidā hai hā phī  
chāi tae khrang nī nan hā mai (I.)<sup>9</sup>
- sadet mā fao ong phra bidōn  
yang nā muk bānchōn saeng sai (D.)<sup>10</sup>
- dai ǎaeng rapsang phra bidōn  
bāng-ōn thawin ǎhindā (I.)<sup>11</sup>

- 
- (1) p. 151.  
(2) p. 8.  
(3) p. 25.  
(4) p. 506.  
(5) p. 549.  
(6) p. 9.  
(7) p. 305.  
(8) p. 763.  
(9) p. 304.  
(10) p. 505.  
(11) p. 356.

- nu'ng ong phra rācha bidōn  
sadet mǎ phrā nakhōn rū' yū pā (D.)<sup>1</sup>
- an ong somdet phra bidōn  
thān sǎthāwōn pen sukhā (I.)<sup>2</sup>
- sōka phlāng thūn biturong  
lūk tām pai daen dong noen salai (D.)<sup>3</sup>
- čhaeng wā biturong song than  
chāi hai damang nan pai nat kǎn (I.)<sup>4</sup>
- phrōm mū mātayā sēnā nai  
kō khao pai klai phra biturong (D.)<sup>5</sup>
- maen phra biturong song sǎp hēt  
songdet čha damri tri thōt dai (I.)<sup>6</sup>
- biturāt mǎtturong lae phong phan  
phrōm kan prathān nām phra thidā (I.)<sup>7</sup>
- laeo čhu'ng thūn ong phra biturāt  
lūk čha lā pai praphāt phanāsī (D.)<sup>8</sup>
- mai khu'n fao biturēt mǎndā  
kāyā sīt phōm duai trōm čhai (D.)<sup>9</sup>
- tō biturēt tu'an čhu'ng khlu'ankhlāi  
rawang chāi song saphak chak hom (I.)<sup>10</sup>

- 
- (1) p. 546.  
(2) p. 746.  
(3) p. 88.  
(4) p. 108.  
(5) p. 505.  
(6) p. 175.  
(7) p. 21.  
(8) p. 511.  
(9) p. 507.  
(10) p. 85.

choen sadet klap khao phra nakhōn  
phra biturēt mādōn čha khōi hā (D.)<sup>1</sup>

phra biturēt mādā thang hā ong  
 phitsawong čhongrak naknā (I.)<sup>2</sup>

All the underlined terms exhibit the poetic technique of alterations of the 'royal father' to fit the Klōn metre and rhyme scheme. In real life, this word is used in fewer varied forms, such as 'sodet phra rācha bidā' or 'sodet phra bōroma chanok nāt'.

The Malay-Indonesian term for 'royal father' also appears in Dālang and Inao, for example —

maen pāpa-ayī čha liang khā  
 su'ng mai chōp tā nan khuan hām (D.)<sup>3</sup>

pāpa-ayī hai phā mā  
 krāp klao wanthā phra āčhān (I.)<sup>4</sup>

However, the 'royal father' is sometimes referred to by the use of common terms, such as —

čhu'ng čhap chu'ak mon thēwā  
 sāng hai mat bidā phā pai (D.)<sup>5</sup>

kranī rū' bidā mi phitsawāt  
 čhon phināt đuai ōrotsā (I.)<sup>6</sup>

- 
- (1) p. 88.  
 (2) p. 9.  
 (3) p. 74.  
 (4) p. 439.  
 (5) p. 526.  
 (6) p. 340.

hen tamma-ngong mā kọ yindī  
thēwī taithām thu'ng bidōn (I.)<sup>1</sup>

This is permissible only in poetic language.

In conversation with a superior who is a member of a royal family, we find that there are not many variations of pronouns used in the poems. The terms for 'I', when the speaker is a commoner or a royal person of less exalted rank, appear as follows:

khā hai pai tām kọ mai than  
hēt nī atsačhan naknā  
phra-ong čhong phra mēttā  
chuai ao čhīwā khābāt wai  
khānōi mai mī thī leng hen  
ča pen thī phammak āsai (D.)<sup>2</sup>

khā mā kep panan long yū  
ča klap pai kọ mai rū haeng hon (I.)<sup>3</sup>

khābāt dai thūn ɔnwōn  
hai khū'n nakhōn khētkhan (I.)<sup>4</sup>

khānōi nī chāo dong dōn  
tae hen chāo phra nakhōn čha ying kwā (I.)<sup>5</sup>

In real life, the court language term for 'I' while speaking to the king is more elaborate: 'khā phra phuttha čhao'. The inflexibility of this five syllable phrase in most metrical situations is obvious.

- 
- (1) p. 972.  
(2) p. 370.  
(3) p. 410.  
(4) p. 1012.  
(5) p. 395.

In the poems, when a king or a prince is addressed, there is a great choice of terms which can be used, depending on the wish of the poet to introduce a variety of different expressions as well as on the requirements of the metrical structure and rhyming scheme. Most of these terms are epithets which refer to dignity, virtue, power or handsomeness. <sup>(1)</sup> However, there are two simple terms commonly used as pronouns, both second and third person, for denoting a king or a prince. They are 'phra' and 'phra-ong'.

#### Examples.

##### Second person:-

phra čhong ramlu'k tru'ktrā  
mai sēk saeng mānyā phāthī (D.) <sup>2</sup>

čhu'ng thūn plōp hai chōp atchā  
phra yā ranthot kamsot song (I.) <sup>3</sup>

phra-ong song dēt dōk nan  
prayong yaem kaem kan dang sawai (D.) <sup>4</sup>

an phra thidā chōm yong  
nai čha phon phra-ong yā songkā (I.) <sup>5</sup>

##### Third person:-

charōi phra mai yū nai buri  
sathit thī fang nathī rū' chanai (D.) <sup>6</sup>

---

(1) See Appendix IV.

(2) p. 25.

(3) p. 74.

(4) p. 28.

(5) p. 75.

(6) p. 707.

khā dai thūn tu'an pen lāi khrang  
phra mai fang photčhanā wā khān (I.)<sup>1</sup>

bat nī phra-ong phū song chai  
 prōtprān prathān hai phra butrī (D.)<sup>2</sup>

thā phra-ong yinyōm phrōmchai  
 rao mī dai khaengkhat thatthān (I.)<sup>3</sup>

Though 'phra' is a term of respect, it is not used as pronoun in court language.

For a queen or a princess, the pronouns are also  
 (4)  
 epithets referring to dignity, beauty or youthfulness.

Examples.

Second person:-

khao songsai nai ong phra butrī  
 čha khō hai thēwī banlai  
 pai tām ratū phū mōranā  
kanlayā čha khīt pen chanai (D.)<sup>5</sup>

Third person:-

thu'ng čhai hai phlāng pen rāngwan  
 wān thawāi dōk panan nongyao  
 an sābo rōi song čhong phrathai  
 čha khō plian sabai chōm chalao (I.)<sup>6</sup>

---

(1) p. 80.

(2) p. 324.

(3) p. 243.

(4) See Appendix IV.

(5) p. 375.

(6) p. 87.



The rachasap used for royal movements and actions are numerous, such as 'to laugh', or 'song phra suan' in real life, which is generally in four forms:

- suan phlāng thāng sadet čhāk āt  
pai čhūng kōn sōng nāt khanitthā (D.)<sup>1</sup>
- suan phlāng phra thāng wā pai  
čhao čhong dū mai hai tem tā (I.)<sup>2</sup>
- fāi ong phra rācha anuchā  
dai fang phra phīyā kō suansan (D.)<sup>3</sup>
- mu'a nan  
raden montri kō suansan (I.)<sup>4</sup>
- ong misāra panyī mī sak  
trat thām lūk rak laeo sēsuan (D.)<sup>5</sup>
- mi rū thī čha tōp wāčhā  
kō suansē hēhā pai duai kan (I.)<sup>6</sup>
- dai fang ong anuchā thūn wōn  
phra phūthōn sāmruan laeo sang pai (D.)<sup>7</sup>
- khraṇ mā klai khiang nā phāchī  
phra phāthī samruan suansan (I.)<sup>8</sup>

Another example of royal movement which appears in a greater variety of terms used in the poems is 'to walk' or in actual rāchāsap — 'sadet phra rācha damnoen':

- 
- (1) p. 659.  
(2) p. 945.  
(3) p. 664.  
(4) p. 395.  
(5) p. 736.  
(6) p. 438.  
(7) p. 898.  
(8) p. 682.

- laeo sadet čhak rathā khlākhlai  
 reng rīp damnoen pai mi dai chā (D.)<sup>1</sup>
- damnoen doen khiang miang mā  
 naiyanā lop nēt phūwanai (I.)<sup>2</sup>
- laeo sadet long čhāk phichai rot  
botthačhōn dang kraison sī (D.)<sup>3</sup>
- ču'ng phā sām ōrot botthačhōn  
 mā fao phra phūthōn thibōdī (I.)<sup>4</sup>
- khran phra thidā mā phlan  
 thāo chu'ng čhōnčharan mi than chā (D.)<sup>5</sup>
- sadet čhāk prāsāt kaeo phraeophran  
čhōnčharan pai thōng sanām chai (I.)<sup>6</sup>
- kap sōng phra thidā nārī  
 kō chuan kan čhōralī damnoen mā (D.)<sup>7</sup>
- trat phlāng yāng yu'ang chōralī  
 sadet khu'n yāng thī monthian thōng (I.)<sup>8</sup>
- phra yu'ang yāng long čhāk nāwā  
 mā yang thāo bānulan thandai (D.)<sup>9</sup>
- khran thu'ng long čhāk atsadōn  
 phūthōn yāng yu'ang phāiphan (I.)<sup>10</sup>
- laeo phra-ong song krit ritthirōn  
yāng yu'ang botthačhōn choetchāi (D.)<sup>11</sup>

- 
- (1) p. 149.  
 (2) p. 438.  
 (3) p. 101.  
 (4) p. 143.  
 (5) p. 117.  
 (6) p. 25.  
 (7) p. 156.  
 (8) p. 353.  
 (9) p. 180.  
 (10) p. 69.  
 (11) p. 145.

- khran thu'ng long ǎhāk atsadōn  
botthaǎhōn yāng yū'ang phāiphan (I.)<sup>1</sup>
- lilā mā khu'n rot song  
 hai yok ǎhatturong yāttrā (D.)<sup>2</sup>
- ong ǒn thōn ru'thai pai mā  
 laeo lilā long ǎhāk atthaǎhan (I.)<sup>3</sup>
- khran thu'ng ǎchu'ng chak rot  
botthaǎhōn lilāt phātphan (D.)<sup>4</sup>
- ǎchu'ng chuan chōm ngām sām sudā  
lilāt long sū thā chalālai (I.)<sup>5</sup>
- phra ǎchu'ng long ǎhāk atsawarāt  
yurayāt sū thōng phra rōng yai (D.)<sup>6</sup>
- chuan raden dāyon yurayāt  
 long ǎhāk atsawarāt phātphan (I.)<sup>7</sup>
- tang tā phinit phit dū nāng  
yū'ang yāng yurayāt dang rācha hong (I.)<sup>8</sup>
- trat phlāng yāng yū'ang yurayāt  
 ong-āt dang kraison sī (I.)<sup>9</sup>
- ǎchu'ng yurayāttrā khlākh lai  
 long pai prāsāt phra butrī (I.)<sup>10</sup>
- uba bu-ngā hōi rōi krōng  
 sōt ǎhalōng phra bāt yāttrā (I.)<sup>11</sup>

- 
- (1) p. 106.  
 (2) p. 222.  
 (3) p. 48.  
 (4) p. 437.  
 (5) p. 220.  
 (6) p. 29.  
 (7) p. 171.  
 (8) p. 230.  
 (9) p. 340.  
 (10) p. 357.  
 (11) p. 623.

kai khan krachan dai wēlā  
yātrā mā song wārī (D.)<sup>1</sup>

These are poetic terms for 'to walk'. They are not really in rachasap forms. Even the non-royal term 'doem' can be used with a royal character, for instance --

laeo khaeng čhai pai yang mondop  
doen suan thuanthop mai ngoei nā (D.)<sup>2</sup>

phra butrī mi dai chū'nbān  
doen tām phra mādā mā (I.)<sup>3</sup>

Such term sometimes appear after 'sadet' which distinguishes royalty from commoners.

#### Examples.

mai song sīwikā māt rācha yān  
sadet doen pai sathān phra sitthā (I.)<sup>4</sup>

hōi uba tanyong song klin fung  
 khran rung kō sadet čhōnčharan (I.)<sup>5</sup>

sang set phra sadet čhōralī  
 mā song phāchī an chaichān (D.)<sup>6</sup>

sang set sadet čhōralī  
 phūmī khao yang wang nai (I.)<sup>7</sup>

- 
- (1) p. 417.  
 (2) p. 95.  
 (3) p. 228.  
 (4) p. 119.  
 (5) p. 52.  
 (6) p. 29.  
 (7) p. 204.

- phlāng sadet yāng yū'ang čhōnčharan  
čhāk hōng suwan phannarāi (I.)<sup>1</sup>
- laeo sadet yāng yū'ang čhōrali  
mā yang phra čhonnani thang hā (D.)<sup>2</sup>
- čhu'ng sadet yāng yū'ang čhōrali  
mā khao thī chamra sa song (I.)<sup>3</sup>
- sang set sadet līlā  
khao mahā prāsāt rūčhī (I.)<sup>4</sup>
- čhu'ng sadet līlāt yāttrā  
mā sa song khongkhā ā ong (I.)<sup>5</sup>
- sōng phra-ong kō sadet yāttrā  
mā yang koei lā thandai (D.)<sup>6</sup>
- chū'nchom somthawin yindī  
phūmī kō sadet yāttrā (I.)<sup>7</sup>
- phra sadet yurayāt khlātchlā  
khu'n sū suwan phlapphlā chai (D.)<sup>8</sup>
- sang set sadet yurayāt  
pai prāsāt ong pramaisurī (I.)<sup>9</sup>
- sadet yurayāttrā khlākhilai  
ōk pai yang āt rotčhanā (I.)<sup>10</sup>

The above examples indicate that the poets do not consider the court language as all important. The movements

- 
- (1) p. 520.  
(2) p. 273.  
(3) p. 194.  
(4) p. 29.  
(5) p. 168.  
(6) p. 162.  
(7) p. 495.  
(8) p. 93.  
(9) p. 32.  
(10) p. 919.

and actions of royal personages are frequently described with common terms. The nominal side of the court language in Dālang and Inao is better preserved than the verbal side, though, for both, it is clear that the usage derives from poetic conventions rather than from real-life court styles.

Inao and Dālang are rich in epithets for royal personages. These conventional terms occur in elaborate forms, referring to superiority in power, rank, virtue and beauty.

The epithets for kings and princes.

As substitutions:-

Dālang has 181 terms and Inao has 120 terms, 54 of which are common to both texts. Dālang introduces 127 terms which are not found in Inao. Inao introduces 66 terms which are not found in Dālang.<sup>(1)</sup>

With names:-

Dālang has 122 terms and Inao has 131 terms, 55 of which are common to both texts. Dālang introduces 67 terms which are not found in Inao. Inao introduces 76 terms which are not found in Dālang.<sup>(2)</sup>

---

(1) See Appendix IV.  
(2) Ibid.

The epithets for queens and princesses.

As substitutions:-

Dālang has 147 terms and Inao has 141 terms, 71 of which are common to both texts. Dālang introduces 76 terms which are not found in Inao. Inao introduces 70 terms which are not found in Dālang.<sup>(1)</sup>

With names:-

Dālang has 66 terms and Inao has 86 terms, 46 of which are common to both texts. Dālang introduces 20 terms which are not found in Inao. Inao introduces 40 terms which are not found in Dālang.<sup>(2)</sup>

The epithets for commoners.

For men:-

Dālang and Inao have 15 terms each, 6 of which are common to both texts. Dālang introduces 9 terms which are not found in Inao. Inao introduces 9 terms which are not found in Dālang.<sup>(3)</sup>

For women:-

Dālang has 3 terms. All of them are found in Inao. Inao has 9 terms, 6 of which are not found in Dālang.<sup>(4)</sup>

- 
- (1) Ibid.  
 (2) Ibid.  
 (3) Ibid.  
 (4) Ibid.

The epithets used for both male and female:-

Dālang has 39 terms and Inao has 37 terms, 30 of which are common to both texts. Dālang introduces 7 which are not found in Inao. Inao introduces 5 terms which are not found in Dālang.<sup>(1)</sup>

There are other conventional epithets for some particular words. The city is often called 'the crystal city', 'the glorious city', 'the excellent city', or 'the victorious city'. The city-wall is called 'the crystal wall'. The palace is called 'the crystal palace', 'the gold palace', 'the victorious palace', and so is the royal pavilion. The throne hall is called 'the golden hall', 'the crystal hall', 'the beautifully decorated hall', 'the shining hall', or 'the victorious hall'. The royal throne is called 'the crystal throne'. The royal conveyance, i.e. the chariot, is called 'the crystal chariot', or 'the victorious chariot'. The garden is called 'the glorious garden'. The pond is called 'the glorious pond'. The cave is called 'the golden cave'. The brick, the stone, the sand and the street are called 'the golden brick', 'the golden stone', 'the golden sand', and 'the golden street' respectively. The royal message is sometimes called 'the glorious message'. The royal feet are

---

(1) Ibid.



called 'the golden feet', or 'the lotus feet'. Such terms abound in both Dālang and Inao.

Detailed examination of the structure and semantics of the epithets does not lead to the conclusion that Dālang and Inao have recognisably different poetic conventions. The whole schema of epithet associates Dālang and Inao with the tradition of Indic influence.

The places where the major characters live are compared with heavenly abodes. Such comparison occurs in the other Lakhōn texts as well. It is another traditional expression.

A greater number of similes are used in the descriptions of characters, actions, emotions and nature.

The hero's handsomeness —

Dālang introduces 9 similes: he is as beautiful

(1) Dālang, pp. 1, 74; Inao, pp. 2, 140, 209, 245.

(2) It occurs in the literary works of the seventeenth century. See: Samuthakhōt Kham Chan, 1925, p. 13; Anirut Kham Chan, 1924, p. 2; Kamsuan Khlōng Dan, 1925, p. 1; and Thawāthosamāt, 1925, p. 42.

(3) In Dālang, we also find that the hero is 'more beautiful than a divine drawing' (p. 6), 'more beautiful than the bright sun' (p. 162), 'so beautiful that the beholder wishes to swallow' (p. 253).

These similes can be applied to the other major characters (male) as well.

(1) 'as a deity', (2) 'as the bright sun', (3) 'as a perfect sculpture',  
 (4) 'as a divine drawing', 'as an image carefully polished by  
 (5) a deity', (6) 'as a divine creation', 'as a deity floating in  
 (7) the sky', (8) 'as the sun floating in the sky', or 'as (a sharp  
 (9) arrow) piercing (the beholder's) eyes'.

The first four similes in Dālang are found in  
 (10) Inao. The last simile, referring to piercing beauty, also  
 occurs in Inao, but it is used in irony for King Chōrakā's  
 (11) ugliness.

The hero's movement —

Dālang introduces 4 similes: he is as graceful  
 (12) 'as the King of swans', (13) 'as the King of lions', 'as a deity

(1) Dālang, pp. 11, 20, 169, 261, 592, 682, 695, 914.  
 The deity's name is mentioned in some places, for example -  
 'as Indra coming from his heavenly abode' (p. 806), or  
 'as Vishnu' (p. 417).

(2) Ibid., pp. 203, 215, 221, 243, 395, 433, 565, 903,  
 904.

(3) Ibid., pp. 643, 652.

(4) Ibid., p. 913.

(5) Ibid., p. 652.

(6) Ibid., p. 11.

(7) Ibid., pp. 16, 739, 770.

(8) Ibid., pp. 197, 838.

(9) Ibid., p. 566.

(10) Inao, pp. 25, 36, 41, 647, 666, 1202 (as a deity);  
 pp. 666 (as the sun); p. 133 (as a sculpture).

(11) Ibid., 366.

(12) Dālang, pp. 197, 222, 592, 599, 787, 925.

(13) Ibid., pp. 20, 101, 148, 299, 315, 387, 408, 454,  
 553, 565, 620, 686, 819, 980, 995.

(1) coming down from heaven', or 'as a figure in a drawing'. (2)  
 The first two similes are found in Inao. (3)

The hero's power —

Dālang introduces 3 similes: he is as powerful (4) 'as the sun', 'as Vishnu who conquers the demons', or 'as (5) the King of lions'. The first simile is found in Inao. (6) (7)

The heroine's beauty —

Dālang introduces 6 similes: she is as beautiful (8) 'as a blooming lotus in a pond', 'as the moon' or 'as the (9) moon visiting the earth', 'as a celestial being', 'as a (10) (11)

- 
- (1) Ibid., pp. 182, 592.  
 (2) Ibid., p. 927.  
 (3) Inao, pp. 177, 269, 808, 904 (as the King of swans); pp. 169, 442 (as the King of lions).  
 (4) Dālang, p. 322.  
 (5) Ibid., p. 359.  
 (6) Ibid., pp. 733, 779, 780, 809.  
 (7) Inao, pp. 11, 1079.  
 (8) In Dālang, we also find that the heroine is described to be 'more beautiful than a celestial being' (p. 8), 'peerless on earth' (p. 277), 'a delight to the eye' (p. 390) or 'so beautiful that the beholder wishes to swallow' (p. 277); the hero's first love is 'more beautiful than the full moon' (p. 29), or 'so beautiful that she seems to vanish before the beholder's eyes' (p. 29). In Inao, the heroine is also described to be 'a beauty that pierces the beholder's eyes' (p. 251), 'matchless on earth' (p. 23), 'a delight to the eye' (p. 259), 'more beautiful than a divine creation' (p. 361), 'more beautiful than a drawing' (p. 400), or 'so beautiful that she seems to vanish before the beholder's eyes' (p. 666).  
 (9) Dālang, p. 8.  
 (10) Ibid., pp. 8, 10, 305.  
 (11) Ibid., pp. 24, 53, 284, 383, 616.



Similar descriptions are found in the other Lakhōn Nai texts composed in the reign of King Rama I. In the Rāmakien, Thosakan describes Sīdā as follows:

Looking at your face, it is as clear as the moon.  
Looking at your brows, they curve like bows.  
Looking at your eyes, they resemble those of the fawns.  
Looking at your teeth, they are like sapphires  
in smooth rows.  
Looking at your lips, they seem to smile  
And glow like red rubies.  
Looking at your cheeks, they can be compared with  
golden maprang.  
Looking at your ears, they are like lotus-petals.  
Looking at your rai, it is as though it had been  
carefully drawn.  
Looking at your neck, it is well-shaped like a swan's  
neck.  
Looking at your arms, they resemble the elephants'  
trunks.  
Looking at your figure, it is like that of a Kinnari.  
Looking at your bosom, it is like the lotuses.  
Looking at your waist, it is flexible as in a drawing.  
Looking at your skin, it glows as if tinted with gold.  
Looking at your manner, it captures my heart. (1)

of the seventeenth century. In the Inao of King Rama II, though the description is more precise and variation of simile occurs, the classical style is mostly preserved, for example:

Your face is of fine complexion,  
Like the unblemished radiant moon.  
Beautiful are your eyes, like those of a golden fawn.  
Beautiful are your brows, curving like bows.  
Your slim figure resembles that of a Kinnari. (1)

The construction of pattern and similes used reflect Indian influence. A few indigenous ideas are added, e.g. the mention of the rai which refers to the hair-style of Thai girls in those days, and the mention of black teeth which the Thai regarded as a part of human beauty. The poets followed this traditional style until the fashion changed. From the beginning of the twentieth century onwards, varied similes are used which reflect more modern conceptions, for example - 'the hair is black, like the sky dark with rain-clouds', 'the skin is like jasmines mixed with roses', 'the teeth shine beautifully like pearls',<sup>(2)</sup> etc.

The detailed description of masculine beauty is not favoured in a Lakhōn text. It does not extend beyond five half-lines. Inao is described as follows:

The complexion is like a divine drawing;  
The lips are pretty, as if he is smiling;

---

(1) King Rama II, Inao, pp. 97, 532.

(2) H.R.H. Prince Phetchabun Inthrachai, Phra Yotsakēt, Bangkok, 1923.

The manner is so graceful;  
 The face is like the radiant moon;  
 Both brows and eyes are attractive. (1)

Another way of making the hero's handsomeness prominent is to describe his rival in contrast. King Chōrakā in Inao appears as an ugly person with frizzy hair, pock-marked face, big nose, hoarse voice, stout figure and dark complexion. As this character is given a comic role, being the butt of mockery, he is comparable to Khun Chāng in Khun Chāng Khun Phaen. (2)

The matching beauty between the hero and the heroine is comparable to 'gold associated with crystal', 'the sun with the moon', or 'a god with a goddess'. (3) (4) (5)

#### Delight —

Dālang introduces 4 similes: the character feels 'as if having taken immortal nectar', 'as if becoming the ruler of the divine world', 'as if reviving after death', (6) (7) (8)

- 
- (1) King Rama II, Inao, p. 1077.  
 (2) Ibid., pp. 222, 365-6.  
 (3) King Rama I, Dālang, pp. 118, 342, 348, 914;  
 King Rama II, Inao, pp. 85, 360, 1078.  
 (4) King Rama I, Dālang, p. 109; King Rama II, Inao,  
 pp. 360, 666.  
 (5) King Rama II, Inao, p. 360.  
 (6) King Rama I, Dālang, pp. 85, 94, 121, 657, 742, 895.  
 (7) Ibid., pp. 419, 457, 742.  
 (8) Ibid., p. 985.

or 'as if gaining a divine crystal'<sup>(1)</sup>. The first three similes  
occur in Inao.<sup>(2)</sup>

When a character is happy at hearing a pleasing voice, he also feels 'as if being daubed with immortal nectar'.<sup>(3)</sup> This occurs in both poems. However, another simile is found in Inao: the voice is 'like an arrow that strikes the hearer's heart'.<sup>(4)</sup>

### Anger —

In Dālang, there are 4 similes used: the character feels 'as if being burnt in a fire'<sup>(5)</sup>, 'as if being struck by a thunderbolt'<sup>(6)</sup>, 'as if being bitten by a poisonous snake'<sup>(7)</sup>, or he is 'so angry that his eyes shine like the sun'<sup>(8)</sup>. The first two similes occur in Inao,<sup>(9)</sup> and so are the following: 'as if being burnt in a Kalpa fire'<sup>(10)</sup>, 'as if an arrow pierces

(1) Ibid., pp. 166, 394.

(2) King Rama II, Inao, pp. 410, 964, 1015, 1069 (as if having taken immortal nectar); pp. 177, 184, 426, 839, 994, 1014 (as if becoming the ruler of the divine world); pp. 911, 935, 1075, 1076 (as if reviving after death).

(3) King Rama I, Dālang, pp. 94, 146, 147, 192, 308, 309, 629, 898; King Rama II, Inao, pp. 623, 633, 721.

(4) King Rama II, Inao, p. 687.

(5) King Rama I, Dālang, pp. 42, 44, 193, 202, 218, 345, 408, 760.

(6) Ibid., p. 41.

(7) Ibid., p. 756.

(8) Ibid., p. 193.

(9) King Rama II, Inao, pp. 723, 725, 849, 976, 977 (as if being burnt in a fire); pp. 287, 724 (as if struck by a thunderbolt).

(10) Ibid., pp. 124, 202, 279, 425, 431, 437.



(1) the ear', 'as if an arrow pierces the heart', or 'as if a  
(2)  
(3) trident pierces the heart'.

#### Anxious fear —

Dālang introduces 6 similes: the character  
(4) feels 'as if the soul is on the point of leaving the body',  
(5) 'as if the God of Death is smashing the heart', 'as if the  
(6) King of serpents is spraying venom to the heart', 'as if  
(7) being executed', 'as if falling from a tree', or 'as if  
(8) lying on top of a long pole'. The first two similes are used  
(9) in Inao.  
(10)

#### Agitation or anxiety —

Dālang introduces 4 similes: it is 'as if being  
(11) bitten by a poisonous snake', 'as if the heart is burnt by  
(12) a thunderbolt', 'as if the heart is burnt in a fire', or  
(13)

- 
- (1) Ibid., p. 332.  
 (2) Ibid., p. 497.  
 (3) Ibid., p. 333.  
 (4) King Rama I, Dālang, pp. 44, 48, 95, 107, 591.  
 (5) Ibid., pp. 55, 142, 291.  
 (6) Ibid., p. 55.  
 (7) Ibid., pp. 52, 143, 812.  
 (8) Ibid., p. 50.  
 (9) Ibid., p. 50.  
 (10) King Rama II, Inao, p. 512 (as if the soul leaving the body); p. 517 (as if the God of Death destroys the heart).  
 (11) King Rama I, Dālang, p. 84.  
 (12) Ibid., pp. 43, 281.  
 (13) Ibid., pp. 37, 59, 60, 113, 246, 301, 306, 309, 334, 343, 397, 773.

'as if being burnt by a Kalpa fire'<sup>(1)</sup>. In Inao, 5 similes are used: the character feels 'as if the heart is destroyed by fire'<sup>(2)</sup>, 'as if being amidst conflagration'<sup>(3)</sup>, 'as if burnt by a Kalpa fire'<sup>(4)</sup>, 'as if struck by a thunderbolt'<sup>(5)</sup>, or 'as if the heart is broken'<sup>(6)</sup>.

### Grief —

Dālang introduces 8 similes: the character feels 'as if being burnt in a fire'<sup>(7)</sup>, 'as if the god of Death destroys the heart'<sup>(8)</sup>, 'as if expiring'<sup>(9)</sup>, 'as if the soul is taken away, or the soul has left the body'<sup>(10)</sup>, 'as if the heart is broken'<sup>(11)</sup>, 'as if the body is destroyed'<sup>(12)</sup>, 'painful as if a sword pierces a wound'<sup>(13)</sup>, or 'as if Mt. Meru presses upon the heart'<sup>(14)</sup>. Inao introduces 7 similes: it is 'as if being destroyed by fire'<sup>(15)</sup>, 'as if somebody slits the chest with a — knife and

- 
- (1) Ibid., p. 693.
  - (2) King Rama II, Inao, pp. 83, 466, 513.
  - (3) Ibid., pp. 448, 469.
  - (4) Ibid., pp. 199, 408, 427, 834, 886, 1026.
  - (5) Ibid., p. 634.
  - (6) Ibid., p. 255.
  - (7) King Rama I, Dālang, pp. 74, 95.
  - (8) Ibid., p. 95.
  - (9) Ibid., pp. 367, 379, 391.
  - (10) Ibid., pp. 107, 374.
  - (11) Ibid., pp. 372, 426.
  - (12) Ibid., p. 502.
  - (13) Ibid., p. 954.
  - (14) Ibid., p. 379.
  - (15) King Rama II, Inao, p. 1137.

takes the heart away<sup>(1)</sup>, 'as if blood is dripping from the  
 eyes'<sup>(2)</sup>, 'as if suffering from or being struck by a poisonous  
 arrow'<sup>(3)</sup>, 'as if the heart is broken'<sup>(4)</sup>, 'as if dying'<sup>(5)</sup>, or 'as  
 if Mt. Meru presses upon the heart'<sup>(6)</sup>.

### Love —

In both poems, love is compared with 'fire'<sup>(7)</sup>  
 or 'Kalpa fire'<sup>(8)</sup> that burns the heart, 'a destructive arrow'<sup>(9)</sup>  
 that pierces the heart, 'Mt. Meru'<sup>(10)</sup> that presses upon the  
 heart.

The amatory aspect introduces a large number of comparative phrases. Delight, fury, anxiety and grief are mostly caused by love. Thus the metaphorical expressions in the latter context are often identical with the former.

Besides, we find the conventional usage of 'the hair yearning for the moon', or 'the crow longing improperly for the royal swan', if one is of a higher rank than the other where love is concerned. When King Chōrakā stays in

- 
- (1) Ibid., p. 1128.  
 (2) Ibid., pp. 179, 1148.  
 (3) Ibid., p. 1151.  
 (4) Ibid., p. 538.  
 (5) Ibid., pp. 307, 364, 542, 545, 556, 557, 913, 933.  
 (6) Ibid., p. 469.  
 (7) King Rama I, Dalang, p. 105; King Rama II, Inao, p. 180.  
 (8) King Rama I, Dalang, p. 280; King Rama II, Inao, pp. 203, 233.  
 (9) King Rama I, Dalang, pp. 276, 281, 295; King Rama II, Inao, pp. 253, 497.  
 (10) King Rama I, Dalang, pp. 282, 295, 311; King Rama II, Inao, p. 84.

Dāhā as Busbā's betrothed, he is criticized by the court ladies as follows:

. . . It is like a poor, blemished bead brought to mix with a gem worth the city's value; it is like a brass ring supporting diamond, or tile scraping against the glorious, pure gold. (1)

In both poems, the happiness of a person in love is equal to, or even greater than, the happiness obtained from ruling over heaven. But, in the wailings of the hero's first love, who is suspicious that he cares no more for her, love is 'like a running stream which only flows onward and never returns' <sup>(2)</sup>. Another conventional comparison is also used:

When love exists,  
The bitter vegetable soup is admired as sweet;  
When love dies,  
Even the juice from sugarcane becomes tasteless. (3)

When love at first sight occurs, the idea of 'Bupphēsanniwāt' or 'living together in a previous existence' <sup>(4)</sup> is often introduced, for example:

We live far apart, yet we meet each other  
According to our Bupphēsanniwāt. (5)

Or,

According to Bupphēsanniwāt,  
He falls in love with her. (6)

- 
- (1) King Rama II, Inao, p. 366.  
 (2) Ibid., p. 304.  
 (3) Ibid., p. 1152.  
 (4) King Rama I, Dālang, pp. 459, 515, 581, 691; King Rama II, Inao, pp. 76, 180, 270, 420, 587, 588, 655, 777, 863.  
 (5) King Rama I, Dālang, p. 459.  
 (6) King Rama II, Inao, p. 777.

Karma and rebirth are also frequently referred to in poetic works. The mention of merit and demerit created in former existences occur 123 times in *Dalang* and 117 times in *Inao*. Most of them are found in the love episodes, such as —

My demerit separated me  
Far from the kingdom,  
But my merit leads to our meeting. (1)

Or,

What merit can it be that gave the chance  
Of holding you in my arms?  
What demerit is it that takes you away?  
Have I severed any pair of creatures  
in a previous life? (2)

Further examples can be drawn from other situations, such as a consolation given to the hero's first love by the executioner:

You are of a pleasing beauty,  
According to merit created previously. (3)

The queen of *Pramōtan* wails over the loss of  
*Unākan*:

Perhaps my merit is very little,  
Thus making my dearest son leave me. (4)

The King of *Kamangkuning* decides to move his army to attack *Dāhā*, in spite of being restrained by the

- 
- (1) King Rama I, *Dālang*, p. 985.
  - (2) King Rama II, *Inao*, p. 468.
  - (3) King Rama I, *Dālang*, p. 57.
  - (4) King Rama II, *Inao*, p. 797.

court astrologers, saying:

It's up to my merit and demerit;  
I won't care for your advice. (1)

A consolation to the long lost princes and princesses after the reunion:

The misfortune which has happened  
is caused by your demerit. (2)

The heroine in *Dālang* is calm at knowing that  
she has to commit self-immolation:

I shall exhaust me demerit  
To live in great honour in future life. (3)

The grief for death is usually lessened by the  
mention of transitoriness of life:

Once born in this world of uncertainties,  
No one can flee from the God of Death.  
Even the kings, the rich, the poor,  
The people in the three worlds,  
The mighty Brahma, Yama,  
The Wāyuphak (bird) in the sky,  
All have to die,  
Either sooner or later. (4)

The means used to portray emotion thus involves  
the application of Buddhist conceptions and, in detail,  
recourse to a set of conventional similes partially  
differentiated into sets according to the nature of the

- 
- (1) *Ibid.*, p. 280.  
(2) *Ibid.*, p. 1033.  
(3) *King Rama I, Dālang*, p. 376.  
(4) *Ibid.*, p. 30.

emotion portrayed.

### Sovereignty.—

In both poems, sovereignty is symbolically represented by a crystal or white umbrella (in nine tiers) which gives shade to all subordinates. (1)

Among the sovereigns themselves, those of 'Divine Race' are praised as surpassing all others in every respect. Their superiority and their unconquered warriors are acknowledged by minor states. Various similes are used to mark a barrier between the divine descendants and the non-divine race, for example:

The members of 'Divine Race'  
Are warriors of great power and skill.  
Their armies are adroit in warfare,  
An awe to all Javanese!  
Hundreds of kings are their vassals.  
Our realm is such a tiny one;  
(It is) like a glow-worm that tries  
To rival with the sun. (2)

Or,

The non-divine race cannot be compared with your Grace,  
So this will cause displeasure to your lotus-feet.  
'Tis like a white-ant hill and the golden Meru,  
A (powerless) deer and the King of lions,  
The terrestrial and etherial sphere. (3)

---

Inao, pp. 307, 1089.  
(1) Ibid., pp. 24, 34, 371, 488, 813, 827; King Rama II.  
(2) King Rama II, Inao, p. 265.  
(3) Ibid., p. 239.

# Descriptions of nature —

In drawing an image of colourful scenery, a variety of precious stones is used as standards of comparison, for example:

Some (flowers) are as red as a ruby's brightness;  
Those in white are pretty as cat's eyes;  
The yellow ones shine beautifully  
As if tinted with pure gold. (1)

Or,

The red (flowers) look as if they are vermillioned;  
The purple ones look as dark as sapphire;  
The white are like moonstone. (2)

Or,

The green coral-reefs are as bright as emerald;  
Those with lineal designs look as if they are enamelled;  
The red and yellow shine like onyx. (3)

In a cave description, the stalagtites are compared to bunches of flowers and the stalagmites to the tassels of a brass lantern. (4)

These are the similes used to portray natural beauty while emotion is left aside. The poets just depict the pleasant view of the forest or the sea with idealistic expressions.

---

(1) King Rama I, Dālang, p. 164.  
(2) Ibid., p. 553.  
(3) King Rama II, Inao, p. 591.  
(4) King Rama I, Dālang, p. 924; King Rama II, Inao, p. 476.





kāling ǎchap king kālong miang

nok iang ǎchap u'ang chamlu'ang dū

kralumphū ǎchū ǎchap kralamphak

khao fai khai fak fup yū

yāng yōng mōng mā rim sinthū

pak-lak pīk lū long kin plā<sup>(1)</sup>

The description of dawn when the cuckoo sings  
in harmony with the other birds and when the cool breeze  
brings the fragrance of wild flowers —

duwao rao rōng song siang wān

siang prasān kap khanā paksā

phraphāi chāi phat ramphoei mā

hōm klin bu-ngā rančhuan ǎchāi<sup>(2)</sup>

Or,

prasān siang samniang duwao wao

kai kao käng pīk kraphū' khan

burong rōng phrōng phriak phraiwan

tū'n tā hā kan thang dongdān

namkhāng phrāng phrom phru'ksā

yu'akyen kēyā yōthā hān

phraphāi ramphoei phat phān

phā klin sumāmān tralop mā<sup>(3)</sup>

- 
- (1) King Rama II, Inao, p. 455.  
(2) King Rama I, Dālang, p. 863.  
(3) King Rama II, Inao, p. 480.

The image of the forest at night under the moonbeams, amidst the flowers' sweet scents brought by the cool breeze, with dew-drops sparkling on the leaves and glow-worms glittering on the twigs —

hộm huan uan rot sumālā

phraphāi phā klin tralop op āi

namkhāng tok tōng bai phru'ksā

chap saeng chanthrā chamrat chāi

hinghōi yōi rayap chap mai rāi

phrāiphrai phraephraeo thī thao thāng (1)

These are impressive with the beauty of sounds created by internal rhyme and alliteration.

A passage of mechanical word-play in Inao can be compared with a forest description in Khun Chāng Khun Phaen.

Inao:

ōi-chāng pen rōi chāng chak

king kân rân hak long mai mai

hū-kwāng kwāng kin rabat bai

laeo laen lōt dōt lai lōng choeng

chong-khō khō khao yū ngao rom

bāng tām tit chit chom thu'k thaloeng

tā-su'a su'a sum nai sum soeng

thahān ying wing poeng khao pā pāi (2)

---

(1) Ibid., p. 113.

(2) Ibid., p. 658.

Khun Chāng Khun Phaen:

su'a mōng yōng aep ton tā-su'a

rom hū-kwāng kwāng fu'a fūng kwāng pā

ōi-chāng chāng nāo pen rāo mā

sālikā chấp king phikun kin. (1)

This stylized diction is attested early in Thai literature. It dates back at least to the fifteenth century, for similar word-play is found in Lilit Phra Lō:

tā-su'a su'a phāt phāi

nī thāng

kwāng naep hū-kwāng fān

fik ren

chāng nāo mū bong sāng

sōn yū

chāng lōt ōi-chāng len

pā lī lap dong (2)

Emotion portrayed in the form of puns abound in Dālang and Inao, such as —

sāo-yut yut yang chang chāi

su-krom krom ru'thai mōng sī

kā-fāk mu'an fāk maitrī thawī

tao-rāng mu'an rāng burī mā doen phrai (3)

Or,

benchawan mu'an wan mu'a khao fao

dai hen chao tōng chāi ru'thai huan

(1) Khun Chāng Khun Phaen, Bangkok, 1950, p. 368.

(2) Lilit Phra Lō, p. 49.

(3) King Rama I, Dālang, p. 609.

nok kralae lae lap phī khap khruan

lae tām sām sa-nguan chon lap tã <sup>(1)</sup>

When Inao is travelling through the forest, to give military assistance to Dāhā, the birds and trees remind him of his three wives who stay behind in Manyā —

benčhawan chap wan chālī

mu'an wan phī klai sām sudā mā

nāng-nuan chap nāng-nuan nōn

mu'an phī naep nuan samōn čhintarā

čhākkaphrāk chap čhāk čhamnančhā

mu'an čhāk nāng sakāra wātī

khaek-tao chap tao-rāng rōng

mu'an rāng hōng mājā rasmi

nok kaeo chap kaeo phāthī

mu'an kaeo phī thang sām sang khwām mā

trawēn-phrai rōn rōng trawēn phrai

mu'an wēn dai hai nirāt sanēhā

khao-mōng chap mōng yū ēkā

mu'an phī nap mōng mā mu'a klai nāng

khap-khae chap khae sandōt diao

mu'an plao pliao khap čhai nai phrai kwāng

chom wihok nok mai pai tām thāng

khanu'ng nāng phlāng rīp yōthī <sup>(2)</sup>

---

(1) King Rama II, Inao, p. 491.

(2) Ibid., p. 315.

The model of this passage is found in the Rāmakien of King Rama I. When Phra Rām (Rama) wanders in search of Sīdā (Sita), he bewails:

nok kaeo ǎchap king kaeo phlōt

mu'an siang yaowayōt sanēhā

sālikā ǎchap kānnikā

ǎchamnanchā mu'an ǎchao phāthī

khaek-tao ǎchap tao-rāng rōng

mu'an phī rāng hāng hōng mārasi

benǎhawan ǎchap wan māli

mu'an wan ǎchao wōn phī hai tām kwāng

nok yūng ǎchap yūng hōihuan

mu'an phī hōihā nuan phū naep khāng

nok wā ǎchap wā rim thāng

mu'an wā nāng mai chu'a wāǎhā

nāng-nuan ǎchap nāng-nuan nōn

mu'an nuan nu'a nuan samōn sanēhā

ǎhākkaphrāk ǎchap ǎhāk laeo rōn rā

mu'an phī kap kaeo tā ǎhāk kan

nok lāng ǎchap lāng-līng rōng

mu'an lāng mu'a phlat nōng phī sōksan

khruan phlāng phra sadet ǎhōnǎcharan

song than sa-ū'n sōki<sup>(1)</sup>

---

(1) King Rama I, Rāmakien, p. 715.

The use of similar expressions generally occurs because the poets in a later generation follow the style of an earlier period. It occurs more frequently among contemporary works, especially when they are produced by the same writers. Many of the court poets in the reign of King Rama I outlived their monarch and joined in the literary works of King Rama II. King Rama II himself had been one of the court poets on his father's reign, so the diction used in his works is not far from that in the preceding reign.

We find that some passages in Dālang are similar to Inao, such as —

The beauty of the heroine's face:

la-ō-ōng phōng phak plang pleng

dang bulan wan pheng c̣hamrat chāi

(D.)<sup>1</sup>

And

song prat phat phak plang pleng

dang bulan wan pheng phōng sī

(I.)<sup>2</sup>

A refusal to share the seat with royalty:

phra c̣ha nang ruam āt duai chāt chā

klua tulā pāpā c̣ha koet mī

(D.)<sup>3</sup>

---

(1) p. 273.  
 (2) p. 357.  
 (3) p. 21.

And

čha ruam āt duai rāčha rāyā

klua tulā pāpā čha koet mī

(I.)<sup>1</sup>

When the long-lost beloved is found:

phra lot ong long aep naep nōng

kōn prakhōng kōt kaeo laeo rap khwan

dang tāi laeo koet mai dai phop kan

čha bit phan pai yai na nōng rak

. . . . . etc . . . . .

bun phā mā hai dai som sū

mī sia thī pen khū tunā-ngan

koet nai khō hai dai phop kan

yā sōksan nak loei na ōrathai

(D.)<sup>2</sup>

And

hen phra nōng song sōk kansaeng hai

phra suam sōt kōt wai laeo rap khwan

dang tāi laeo koet mai dai phop kan

yā sōksan nak loei na kanlayā

. . . . . etc . . . . .

dēcha rao dai patāpā

yā hai rū khlātkhlā khung āsan

---

(1) p. 597.

(2) pp. 985, 991.



koet nai čhong dai khrōng kan

hai rak ruam chīwan čhon banlai (I.)<sup>1</sup>

Between the Rāmakien and the Inao of King Rama II, there are many similar passages, for example—

The mention of a smooth lawn:

thōng sanām klaeng prāp rāp rū'n

phāng phū'n patthaphī mai mī yā (I.)<sup>2</sup>

And

thaeo thanon hon thāng kō rāp rū'n

phāng phū'n patthaphī mai mī yā (R.)<sup>3</sup>

At sunrise:

dāo du'an lu'an lap mēkhā

suriyā yaem yiam liam salai (I.)<sup>4</sup>

And

khran dāo du'an lu'an lap mēkhā

suriyā yaem yiam liam salai (R.)<sup>5</sup>

How Indra knows that a leading character is in trouble:

mā čha klāo bot pai

thu'ng ong patārakālā

---

(1) p. 935.

(2) p. 3.

(3) King Rama II, Rāmakien, p. 66.

(4) p. 160.

(5) p. 228.

thippa-āt khoei ộn tae kộn mã

kradāng dang silā pralāt ếchai

(I.)<sup>1</sup>

And

mā ếchai klāo bot pai

thu'ng thāo sahatsanai traitru'ngsā

thippa-āt khoei ộn tae kộn mã

kradāng dang silā pralāt nak

(R.)<sup>2</sup>

This passage is also comparable to another mention of Indra's seat in Sangthong:

mā ếchai klāo bot pai

thu'ng ong sahatsanai traitru'ngsā

thippa-āt khoei ộn tae kộn mã

kradāng dang silā pralāt ếchai (3)

We also find similar descriptions of the stylized costumes between the Inao and the Rāmakien of King Rama II.

Inao:

phra chāi tang khanchộng sộng ngao

sốt sai sanapphlao phrao phăchong

song phūsā yok yaeng yāng nộc

phū'n muang duang dộc tanyang

mốt thết riu thộng chalộng-ong

krasan song ếchiarabāt khăt thap (4)

---

(1) p. 810.

(2) p. 718.

(3) King Rama II, Sangthong, Bangkok, 1957, p. 157.

(4) pp. 39-40.

Rāmakien:

phra chāi tang khanchōng sōng ngao  
 sōt sai sanapphlao phrao phachong  
 phūsā yok yaeng khrut at  
 chōng krawat wai wāng hāng hong  
 mōt thēt riu thōng chalōng-ong  
 krasan song chīarabāt khāt thap (1)

Or,

Inao:

nam sai khai fak prathum thōng  
 phin phan han khanōng khao rōng sū  
 song sukhon pon suwan kamphū  
 hōm rarū'n chū'n chū klin chamot (2)

Ramakien:

khai surāi prāi prōi tok tōng  
 phin phan han khanōng khao rōng sū  
 song sukhon pon suwan kamphū  
 hōm rarū'n chū'n chū klin chamot (3)

Or,

Inao:

song sukhon tralop op māli  
 nāng yū ngān phatchanī ramphoei phat (4)

---

(1) p. 508.  
 (2) p. 95.  
 (3) p. 690.  
 (4) p. 716.

Rāmākien:

song sukhon tralop op mālī

nāng yū ngān phatchanī ramphoei phat (1)

Or,

Inao:

krōng-sō sangwian wichian chuang

tāp-thit thapsuang huang hōi

thōngkōn čamlak pen rak rōi

thammarong phet phlōi ruang rung (2)

Rāmākien:

krōng-sō sangwian wichian chuang

thapsuang pradap nu'ang fu'ang hōi

thōngkōn čamlak pen rak rōi

thammarong phet phlōi phrāi tā (3)

The most striking similarity extending through a whole canto between Inao and Rāmākien is found in the description of Siyatrā's costume for the tonsure ceremony (in Inao) and the description of the costumes worn by Phra Mongkut and Phra Lop for a reception ceremony (in the Rāmākien). The passage in Inao runs as follows:

---

(1) p. 52.  
 (2) p. 52.  
 (3) p. 284.

khat sī monthin wārin rot

nam dōkmai sai sot song sanān

lūp lai khru'ang ton sukhon thān

nāng yū ngān ramphoei phatchanī

madēwī khao phat phak hai

nuan-la-ōng amphai phōng sī

kan kuat kramuat mun maolī

sai kiao kao manī naowarat

hai sōt sanapphlao phroetphrāi

choeng ngōn ngām lāi plāi sabat

song phūsā phū'n khāo khōmaphat

phīliang chuai čhīp chat čhōng pračhong

soi nuam tāt pradap banphāp phet

sangwān wao kao ket kōng kong

thōngkōn kao rōp rūp phuchong

thammarong phet ru'ang rūčhī (1)

(2)

To compare with the Rāmakien, only slight variations occur in four places: 'madēwī' in the first half-line of the third khamklōn is replaced by 'phra aiyakī'; 'sōt' in the first half-line of the fifth khamklōn is replaced by 'sōng song', and, at the end of this half-line, 'phroetphrāi' is replaced by 'phraophrāi'; the last variation

---

(1) p. 801.  
(2) p. 817.



Salap to the end of the first section of Wak Rap. Similarly, the end of Wak Rộng here rhymes with the end of the second section of Wak Song. Between Wak Rap and Wak Rộng, there is a structural rhyme from the end of the former to the end of the latter. This is the rule for rhyming within a bot or couplet. But, it frequently occurs that the rhyme from Wak Salap and Wak Rộng in Dālang does not fall at the end of the section, either the first or second section, of Wak Rap and Wak Rộng respectively. The rhyme, therefore, becomes imprecise to the Thai ear, for example —

čhong mī/sawat/sathāphon (Wak Salap)  
yā hai/phairī/phāčhon dai (Wak Rap)

Or,

thūn wā/phra-ong/song chai      (Wak Rộng)  
                                (4)  
hai choen/sadet/chōncharan      (Wak Song)

Or,

an thidā/nongyao/không rao nan (Wak Rộng)  
 (5)  
 cha kiāt/kan wai/yai mī (Wak Song)

(1) The end of Wak Salap can also rhyme with the end of the second section of Wak Rap.

(2) The end of Wak Rộng can also rhyme with the end of the first section of Wak Song.

(3) King Rama I, Dālang, p. 126.

(4) Ibid., p. 126.

(5) Ibid., p. 139.

This characteristic is also apparent in the other Lakhōn Nai texts produced in the reign of King Rama I. Extracts from the Inao of King Rama I are given below in comparison with the quoted passages from Dālang:

thī khiao/kọ ngām/dang mōrakot (Wak Salap)  
daeng dang/thapthim/sot sī<sup>(1)</sup> (Wak Rap)

Or,

thang sa kaeo/prathumēt/rāi riang (Wak Rōng)  
phiang bōk/khōranī/nai mu'ang in<sup>(2)</sup> (Wak Song)

Or,

mī prāng/prāsāt nōi/rāi rōp (Wak Salap)  
prakōp kāp/surakān/mai nap dai<sup>(3)</sup> (Wak Rap)

Or,

that uba/thuk phan/bu-ngā (Wak Salap)  
thū' chet/nā bāng/tāng sī<sup>(4)</sup> (Wak Rap)

Or,

tae rōn rum/klum klat/yū attrā (Wak Rōng)  
phu'ng dai/suthā thip/mā yā chai<sup>(5)</sup> (Wak Song)

---

(1) King Rama I, *Inao*, p. 136.  
(2) *Ibid.*, p. 5. Such a rhyme can also be found in pp. 3, 4, 16, 63, 86, 87, 88, 131, 134, 135, 151, 174, 177, 190.  
(3) *Ibid.*, p. 3. Such a rhyme can also be found in pp. 1, 4, 7, 135.  
(4) *Ibid.*, p. 8. Such a rhyme can also be found in pp. 32, 79, 86, 135, 207.  
(5) *Ibid.*, p. 74.



From the Rāmakien:

chôn phom krôn/lôn kliang/thu'ng phiang hũ (Wak Salap)

dũ ngao/nai nam/laeo rōnghai (Wak Rap)

hu'that/khat khaen/naen cḥai (Wak Rōng)

tā daeng/dang saeng/fai fā <sup>(1)</sup> (Wak Song)

From Unarut:

rũ rōp/nai rabōp/krasat sin (Wak Salap)

phinyō/yot ying/chamroen sī <sup>(2)</sup> (Wak Rap)

Another attitude towards rhyming is to avoid the same sounds, such as 'dai' should not rhyme with 'dai', or 'nī' should not rhyme with 'nī', even if the tones are different. But, homophonic rhyming occurs many times in Dālang, for example —

hai oe-uai pai duai phũthōn

prasān kōn rap rot photchamān

cḥu'ng wā khā cḥa lā khlākhlai

tām chētānā thī nai sān

cḥa khō lā thidā yaowamān

pai chom tāng prathēt samrān cḥai

mu'a nan

thāo pancharākan pen yai

{1} King Rama I, Rāmakien, p. 56.

{2} King Rama I, Unarut, p. 80.

dai fang panyī kọ dĩ ǎchai—

phūwanai ǎchu'ng klāo wāǎhā<sup>(1)</sup>

Or,

thī sī lu'ang ru'ang arām ǎchamrat ǎcharūn

dang suwan noppakhun mā thāp thā

panyī chī hai sōng nāng chom

pen bōromasuk nai rathā<sup>(2)</sup>

In the latter quotation, we can also see an unsuitable rhyming between a short vowel in 'noppakhun' and a long vowel in 'ǎcharūn'.

Homophonic rhyming also occurs in the Rama I version of Inao, for example —

ǎchu'ng thūn sanōng phra wāǎhā

trat mā dang nī mī khuan nak

an koet pen chāi laeo sai

phū dāi dāi phān trai ǎchak

yōm rū kām rop khrop nak

khuan ǎchak hai khroṅ wiang chai<sup>(3)</sup>

Variety in word-forms is a necessity to the poet and the choice is generally controlled by the verse structure. Repetition of the same meaning may occur; it is permissible

(1) King Rama I, Dālang, p. 161.

(2) Ibid., p. 164.

(3) King Rama I, Inao, p. 157.

in some cases, such as 'phra rīp reng līlā khīākhlai', but  
(walk) (walk)  
it can spoil the beauty of the poem by its superfluousness,  
for example —

fan tōng raden tok āchā  
(1)  
mōt muai mōranā taksai  
(die) (die) (die)

Or,

hai pen sī sawat sathāphōn  
(2)  
nai krung nakhōn thānī  
(city) (city) (city)

Or,

khao pai yang nai nakkharēt  
phra song dēt čhong prōt kēsā  
khō čhong phūwanai khlaikhlā  
(3)  
phānfā čhong čhaeng khadī

(The specified terms here are all epithets for  
a form in the second person.)

All these defects in versification are uncharacteristic of the works of King Rama II which were produced with more care. In the reign of King Rama II, Dālang had ceased to attract attention and interest. However, the Inao of King Rama I was used in the later reign, and it is worth comparing some extracts from the two versions of Inao to exemplify

---

(1) King Rama I, Dālang, p. 136.

(2) Ibid., p. 155.

(3) Ibid., p. 168.

techniques of revision.

To improve the defective rhyme:

The Inao of King Rama I

čham čha khām/pai ko/malakā  
                     └───────────┘  
                     hā dū/hai sin/songsai     (1)

The Inao of King Rama II

cha khām pai/mu'ang ma/lakā kō  
                                 └───────────┘  
                     sū'p sō/hai sin/songsai     (2)

Or,

The Inao of King Rama I -----

sū wiyā/sakam/phū sakdā  
phra čhong yū'n/mā dū/pen prathān (3)

The Inao of King Rama II —

sū wiyā/sakam/phū sakdā  
phra-ong/čhong yū'n mā/pen prathān (4)

Or,

The Inao of King Rama I. —————

tae rōn rum/klum klat/yū attrā  
phu'ng dai/suthā thip/mā yā čhai (5)

- (1) King Rama I, Inao, p. 135.  
(2) King Rama II, Inao, p. 590.  
(3) King Rama I, Inao, p. 135.  
(4) King Rama II, Inao, p. 331.  
(5) King Rama I, Inao, p. 74.

## The Inao of King Rama II —

tae rŏn rum/klum klat/yū attrā

phu'ng phop/thip suthā/yā ăchai (1)

We can see that satisfactory phrases are preserved, and alterations take place where proper rhyming is needed.

Changes of words generally occur where the poets want to create better sounds as well as better signification, for example —

## The Inao of King Rama I —

phra-ong dang duang thinnakŏn

phra kiat fung khačhŏn thuk haeng hon

phra őrŏt yot ying phūwadon

dang mēk klu'an klon mā bang wai

su'ng pen khwan mū't mua pai thua thit

phra song rit ăcha rŏn ron mon mai

duai phra őrŏtsā ăcha khlākhlai

ăcham pen ăcham hai kamčhat kan

phra ăcha thiao ma-ngum-ma-ngārā

pai rop thuk phārā khēt khan

sipsām pī ăchu'ng ăcha khū'n kurēpan

ăcha dai sŏng nāng nan mā thānī (2)

---

(1) King Rama II, Inao, p. 183.

(2) King Rama I, Inao, p. 14.

## The Inao of King Rama II —

phra-ong dang duang thinnakōn

song dēt kháchhōn thuk haeng hon

phra ōrot yot ying phūwadon

mu'an mēk klu'an klon khao bang wai

su'ng pen khwan talop op amphōn

phūthōn čha thuk thon mon mai

duai ōrotsā čha khlākh lai

čham pen čham hai kamčhat kan

phra čha thiao ma-ngum-ma-ngārā

yamyi bīthā thuk khēt khan

sipsām pī čha khū'n kurēpan

čha dai sōng nāng nan mā thānī (1)

Superfluous words of Malay-Javanese origin are  
cut out:

## The Inao of King Rama I —

chū' raden karatchapātī

ārat sārī kārā

harikan misāran kumārā

mā-ngon nōrayā thibōdī (2)

## The Inao of King Rama II —

chū' karattapātī kumān

rūp song santhān sōphā (3)

- 
- (1) King Rama II, Inao, p. 13.  
 (2) King Rama I, Inao, p. 11.  
 (3) King Rama II, Inao, p. 9.

Or,

The Inao of King Rama I —

chū' raden surānākong

yāyā ritthirong rang-sī

kudā lang eng yang pātrī

ôharakat sārī chān chai (1)

The Inao of King Rama II —

chū' raden surānākong (2)

Imitation in the use of words sometimes brings defects to the poems. Being influenced by the Ramakien, the writers of Dālang once used 'lōthan' for a king's charioteer<sup>(3)</sup>. This term normally refers to Rāvana's charioteer in the Rāmakien and does not occur in any other story. In another episode of Dālang, the terms 'thōraphā' and 'thōraphī' are used in referring to an accursed deity who takes the form of a wild buffalo and fights with Inao's son. This is also a derivation of the story of an accursed deity in the Rāmakien. That deity takes the form of a buffalo called Thōraphā and is finally killed by his own son whose name is Thōraphī<sup>(5)</sup>. The inappropriate use of these two names in Dālang makes the poem look absurd.

---

(1) King Rama I, Inao, p. 33.

(2) King Rama II, Inao, p. 22.

(3) King Rama I, Dālang, p. 437; cf. King Rama I, Rāmakien, p. 1257.

(4) King Rama I, Dālang, p. 699.

(5) King Rama I, Rāmakien, pp. 214-7, 432-4.

A dance-dramatic poem is a work of refinement. The poets must also have sufficient knowledge in music, classical songs and dancing postures. This classical art reached its zenith in the reign of King Rama II. The revision of each text was carefully done. Superfluous words were removed. The terms improperly used and the phrases not clearly expressed were altered. The use of epithets is a good example. The variety of epithetic phrases in Dālang is much larger than in Inao, because Inao introduced only the appropriate ones.

The use of epithets is nevertheless the most obvious characteristic of the poems under consideration. In summarizing the evidence offered on this subject, we can say that the epithet occurs as:

(1) 1. in substitution for a personal name or title, e.g. 'phra-ong song phop trai' (the ruler of the three worlds).

2. in apposition to a noun or title. The epithet being

a) in the form of a nominal phrase. With regard to placement, such epithets belong to conventionally-established exclusive sets occurring in pre- or post-position in relation to nouns, e.g. 'phra chōm yong ong misāra panyī'

---

(1) Listed in Appendix IV. See also pp. 211, 212.  
 (2) Listed in Appendix IV. See also pp. 211-213.



(The handsome prince whose name is Misāra Panyī), or 'thāo kālang suriwong nāthā' (King Kālang of the Solar Race, who affords protection).

b) in the form of an attribute, placed in post-position to the noun in the Thai grammatical order,<sup>(1)</sup> e.g. 'madēwī sī sōphā' (the beautiful Madēwī).

3. in the form of a post-positional attribute in relation to nouns denoting objects connected with royalty,<sup>(2)</sup> e.g. the crystal palace, the lotus feet.

A second favoured device is that of the simile.

1. These similes are of a descriptive nature and are employed in the physical description of persons. They can be either of simple or complex type. Complexity derives not from procedures comparable to the epic simile, but rather to the existence of conventional sets of similes, which may be compared with similar procedures well-known in classical Indian poetry.<sup>(3)</sup>

2. The simile expressing human emotion.<sup>(4)</sup>

A striking feature is the frequent use of a physical referent, e.g.

grief: 'painful as if a sword pierces a wound';

---

(1) Listed in Appendix IV.  
 (2) See pp. 213-214.  
 (3) See pp. 217-220.  
 (4) See pp. 220-224.

anxiety: 'as if the heart is burnt in a fire'.

A degree of variety occurs in the use of such referents, but a highly conventionalized set of referents of a religious or quasi-religious nature is also employed: e.g. divine characters, Mount Meru, Kalpa fire.

The epithet does not extend beyond a single wak (half-line) of the poem, and the simile is limited in extent to two wak (one line).

The use of punning language.

In the particular case of natural descriptions, the convention of punning language based in formal terms primarily on alliteration and secondarily on rhyme has developed in Thai dramatic and narrative poetry. The texts under consideration employ this feature fully. The extent of a punning passage is limited to one line.

The complex of features summarized above clearly establishes the existence of a conventional poetic diction. Within the formal limits available to the epithet, the simile and the punning passage, exact repetition and the repeated occurrence of controlled variants in similar contexts is to be observed. These devices are not extended to longer expressions of a formulaic nature but within their limits display

---

(1) See pp. 138, 230-235.

formulaic characteristics which might be thought of as ultimately referable to an underlying oral tradition.<sup>(1)</sup> The features with which we are dealing are common to Thai dramatic and narrative poetry, and in Lakhōn Nai texts they are seen at their most highly developed. However, there is no evidence that Lakhōn Nai texts were ever composed orally, though this may have been a characteristic of the primitive drama of an earlier period. Whatever its putative connection with an oral tradition may be, these features of poetic diction represent a sophisticated literary development. In the Thai context, oral and literary traditions exist side by side,<sup>(2)</sup> and the production of written texts for oral performance has a long history in the drama especially with regard to shadow-play and masked-play playbooks and, in the narrative tradition, with regard to Phra Lō. This conventional diction is part of a common heritage of Indic origin. Its most characteristic feature, the pun in the context of the description of nature, is widespread, though adapted to suit the requirements of languages as different as, for example, Sanskrit, Thai or Javanese.<sup>(3)</sup>

---

(1) In terms of theories developed for heroic narrative poetry by Milman Parry, Albert Lord, C.M. Bowra, and others.

(2) See: E.H.S. Simmonds, 'Thai Narrative Poetry: Palace and Provincial Texts of an Episode from Khun Chang Khun Phaen', Asia Major, Vol. X, Pt. 2, London, 1963.

(3) See: C. Hooykaas, 'To Ayodhyā by Puspaka', Bijdragen tot de taal-, land-en volkenkunde, 114, 1958, pp. 359-83.

A typical example from the old Javanese Rāmāyana is:

"The widu-birds, now say of them that they are very clever; they show off as though they are tree-frogs; they have learned to act." (1)

Here the puns are:

widu (J., bird-name) / widu-an vidvan (Skt., knowing);  
a-katak (show off) / nataka (tree-frogs).

Compare the same general style type of an example from Inao (text on p. 232 of this thesis):

"There is a track through the sweet elephant-cane where the elephants have dragged it, the branches newly broken. Deer eat the young leaves of the deer's ear. . ."

Here the puns are:

ōi-chāng (sweet elephant cane) / chāng (elephant);  
hū-kwāng (deer's ear, tree-name) / kwāng (deer).

A limitation to noun elements in the puns is normal in Thai.

In striking contrast to the elaborate conventions which we have been describing is the realistic description which is employed for certain parts of the physical setting of the poems. The localization of cities in Thai terms and the references to the way of life of the people provide the best examples of this characteristic.<sup>(2)</sup>

---

(1) Ibid., p. 368.

(2) See: Chapter IV, pp. 98-135.

The description of armies and their various functions, preparation for war, travelling and the battles themselves, fall into an intermediate position with regard to the development of a conventional diction. We can look outside the Thai poems of the Panji cycle to other dramatic and narrative poems and to historical texts for comparable conventions. Such conventions, however, take their rise from the needs of the relatively standard contexts and themes and an artificial diction, existing for itself, of the type of the punning language used in descriptions of nature does not develop.

Finally, it is necessary to consider the use of dialogue in the poems. This is of a special kind. The employment of dialogue is dependent on the method of performance. The norm is a mode of speech which in English terms, hence in translation, would occur as direct speech. This, however, is sung by the chorus. The presentation of such material was in the form of song tunes, which in Inao are usually named at the head of the canto concerned. On occasion the chorus may move from reported speech to direct speech in the middle of a canto. The marking of song tunes appears to be a late feature. It occurs in the Rāmakien and Unarut as well as in Inao and therefore covers the reign of King Rama I as well as that of King Rama II. However, this is not a characteristic of Dālang and is also absent in such



Definitely to-day!  
 Please get ready, dear sisters.  
 Then we shall have a good time together." (1)

Inao:

At that time,  
 The two young ladies-in-waiting  
 Cannot find the beautiful Busbā.  
 Startled, they come up (to the throne hall) together.

Arriving, they make obeisance  
 And ask the Holy Sovereign:  
 "When the fire broke out,  
 Your Majesty sent King Chōrakā  
 To fetch the Princess (from the inner palace).  
 We wanted to follow, but were forbidden.  
 Where is the Princess at this moment?"

Then,  
 The mighty King Dāhā of the Solar Race  
 Was shocked by their words.  
 Suspicion grows in his mind.  
 "Chōrakā went to put out the fire  
 With all the military officers.  
 I did not send him here (to the inner palace).  
 Who is so daring  
 To steal Busbā away?  
 I suspect that Raden Montrī (Inao)  
 Came in disguise and abducted her." (2)

On occasions the dancers paused and themselves spoke lines extempore. These points are marked in Inao and in other dramatic texts of the early Ratanakosin period with the term 'čhēračhā' at the close of the immediately preceeding canto. Such spoken material is not recorded either in the manuscripts or in the printed texts. It normally reflected the matter that had been sung immediately

---

(1) King Rama I, Dālang, p. 868.  
 (2) King Rama II, Inao, p. 528.

before by the chorus. It is not possible to say whether this feature was an original part of Lakhōn Nai performance or a later development. There are no explicit indications of the practice in the Dālang text. It is, in fact, of minor importance in Lakhōn Nai where the dances themselves, supported by accompanying music and the singing of the text, were the major object of the performances.



## CHAPTER VIII

## CONCLUDING STATEMENT

The observations made by de la Loubère in the last quarter of the seventeenth century provide a good starting point for general comment on traditional Thai dance-drama. He said, in part, "The show which they call Lacone is a poem intermixt with epic and dramatic, which lasts three days, from eight in the morning till seven at night. They are histories in verse . . . The Lacone serves principally to solemnize the feast of the dedication of a new temple . . . " (1)

Here de la Loubère lays emphasis on the function of the play, its connection with religious activity. No doubt his opportunities to see Thai dance-drama at the court of Somdet Phra Nārāi were limited. If they had been greater he would have noticed that the dedication of a new temple was only one of a whole series of ceremonies in which the dance-drama had a part to play. It is worth noting that to whatever source we go, whether to historical documents or literary texts, the occasions on which mentions of theatrical activity are made are almost without exception of a ceremonial nature. This goes far to explain certain

---

(1) See page 4.

fundamental points about Thai dance-drama. In terms of religion, Thailand and its predecessor states lie within the orbit of influences deriving from India. Hinduism and Buddhism have been formative influences of an over-riding kind. By its very nature Buddhism does not offer a ceremonial web which provides for the everyday needs of a society as far as both court and commonalty are concerned. Buddhist ceremonial has to do mainly with action within the church itself such as ordination or activities connected with teaching and the following of a religious life. On the other hand Hinduism provided a ceremonial framework in which all could take part and which had reference to the needs of the layman in terms of rites de passage and so on. This was particularly true of the court and, though Brahministic practices spread widely through Thai society and indeed existed among the peoples of the Thai regions before Thai domination, nevertheless the court remained the centre and ceremonies performed in the country were easily recognized as being analogues of those held at court. The Thai rulers, in continuation of the Brahministic beliefs followed among the Khmer and also, for instance, in early Indonesia, saw themselves, in one of their aspects, as being of a semi-divine nature. Praise for the king, pronounced as a matter of course, in an invocation to a dramatic performance, was praise for the god, usually Shiva or Vishnu. Moreover,

in Brahministic terms the entertainment of the gods was an integral part of worship.

There is always something of the gay atmosphere of a fair about Thai ceremonial activity. All recorded evidence goes to show that this was the case in former times too. It is a common enough phenomenon and marks ceremonies of a religious nature in China, India and the West, especially in Catholic countries, as much as in South East Asia. However, in the Thai context a special dimension, shared by the Indian and Indianized cultures, was given to the idea of entertainment. A religious play was not only a method of demonstrating religious ideas, it was in itself an act of worship. Even accompanying feats and games, enjoyable for themselves alone on another level of entertainment, and appearing entirely secular to a casual view, fell into the same category.

In such context it was natural that the ancient drama of India which told the stories of the gods should have a prominent place in the court culture of people like the Thai. We have seen that Thai Lakhōn employed subjects like the Rāmākien, or stories like Anirut, drawn from the Purāṇas, or Buddhist birth-tales featuring the adventures and activities of kings and princes. The eventual acquisition of the special subjects of Lakhōn Nai from Indonesian sources was natural enough in this context.

Apart from the function of the Lakhōn which was noticed by de la Loubère, he commented also on the style and form of drama. He uses the terms 'epic', 'dramatic' and 'histories', but perhaps the key word is 'intermixt'. He is, of course, an educated Western observer and he notices that Thai dance-drama does not fit into any of his preconceived notions about literature and the theatre. This is a just observation and leads us on to consider the nature of Thai dance-drama. Obviously it is dramatic. It is performed on a stage by actors and/or actresses. It is closely linked with the dance, and the Indian heritage gives the dance a language of dramatic interpretation which resembles a very specialized form of mime, even though this cannot be linked detail by detail with Indian practice. The musical aspect of the performance also has its conventions in the form of particular song tunes and of specialized themes repeated in appropriate contexts such as of an army on the march, a love-scene and so on. The music and the dance are linked particularly closely with the text of the play through the medium of the chorus. There is, too, an absence, in the older traditional practice, of any form of scenery, and this is compensated for in the text itself through the provision of background description on a large scale. These various elements are intimately linked to produce a unified performance of a very distinctive kind.

While the rendering of the text by means of a chorus instead of through the mouths of the actors is essential of this particular type of dramatic performance, this technique seems bound to reduce the impact of the inter-play between character and character. We have seen that there is recourse to a device of pseudo-dialogue which the nature of the Thai grammatical structure allows to appear close to realistic dialogue. This device is so frequently employed that it very greatly enlivens the presentation of the story which would otherwise be entirely a matter of narrative and description. In the love scenes it contributes to a heightening of feeling that enables a genuine emotional exchange between the characters to take place. Nevertheless, the requirements and purposes of this type of drama do not demand that the dramatic content of the play should be fully expressed through the characters in speech and action before a visual background. Such a conception of dramatic technique is common in the modern Western countries and modern Thai drama has adopted such an attitude. At its best the incidents of the plot can then seem to arise from the interaction of the characters expressed mainly in realistic dialogue. This, however, is not the case in traditional Thai dance-drama or other forms such as masked or shadow-play. In them the unfolding of plot is the most important and the characters take their

place and develop inside it.

We can now refer again to de la Loubère and see why he was rather confused. He mentioned the epic and histories. This was because he observed the narrative quality of the Thai dance-drama. This perhaps made it look different from any kind of drama in his experience. It is true that the telling of a story which can spread over the lifetime of the characters or perhaps through several generations is a feature of much of Thai literature. We must of course leave the important genres of reflective or lyrical poetry to one side in this matter. Also there is no Thai prose novel until very recent times. Therefore the poems written for performance on the stage and those for reading or recital as poems are the two kinds which are linked. The true narrative poems are different as to subject because they are usually based on indigenous Thai supposed happenings which can sometimes be related to Thai history. They do show, however, the type of limited character development that we get in the plays. This is of course a perfectly acceptable quality in its own context. At least one type of narrative poem, that known as *Sēphā*, was performed by narrators who took individual sections of the poems, fighting sections, amatory pieces, or scenes of love-longing for example, as their specialities and the poems contained dialogue of the type we have been considering. There is also conventional

as well as realistic description. But this did not become drama unless it had stage representation and costumed actors as in masked-play or dance drama or hide figures differently attired as in shadow-play. These types with their special terms, Nang = shadow-play, Khōn = masked-play and the various types of Lakhōn are what constitute Thai drama. The magico-religious function shown by their association with, primarily, royal ceremonial is common to all of the types of drama and is not entirely absent from narrative poetry such as Sēphā. The common aim, too, is the telling of a verse tale. Choice of subject and technique of presentation are the main criteria for differentiating drama and the latter is the only absolute one. Lakhōn Nai linking text, music and the dance in the most intimate and developed fashion represents a particularly specialized form of drama.

The main source of external influence is quite obviously ancient India, and both motive and method have been deeply influenced. Thai drama shares such influences with other Hinduized states of South East Asia. The full concentration on verse as a medium, where Sanskrit used both verse and prose, seems to be shared particularly with the old Khmer forms about which little can be said in the present state of our knowledge. This may be the proximate source for the Thai, and this is a probability on geo-political

grounds. We know too that Thai drama in turn, in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, made contributions to Burmese and particularly to Cambodian drama since Cambodian kings and princes were resident in Bangkok and absorbed its cultural influence.

We have also seen that in matters of detail Thai drama and indeed Thai literature in general has been subject to influences deriving ultimately from Indian literary tradition. That this is clearly the case can be seen from the detailed study of versification and poetic diction. Nevertheless these foreign influences, though very significant indeed, are not all-embracing. The Thai elements are present as for example in the non-conventional description given in the localized background. In versification, although a partly Sanskrit-based terminological framework has been applied, the inevitable dominance of Thai metrical features is a fact.

In aspects of treatment Indian influence can also be seen. This is the case in relation to the Panji cycle tales employed in Lakhon Nai as well as to the subjects drawn ultimately from the Rāmāyana and other Indian material. In the environment of a narrative exposition the adventures of a hero-ruler are projected. This is the martial aspect. A heroine normally plays an equally prominent part. This provides the important amatory aspect. There is, however,



nothing resembling the sophisticated cult of love that is found in European mediaeval literature. There is an element of romance introduced in its technical literary sense (in Western critical terms) of magic and mystery. However, this is not fully exploited in Thai literature though where it occurs it is clearly a reflection of classical Indian influence.

Amatory and martial attitudes certainly derive something from this external influence as can be seen from the conventional nature of their presentation.

A further literary term introduced by de la Loubere in his perceptive comment was that of 'epic'. Thai drama reflects Indian epic if that term can be accepted, as it popularly is, for Indian heroic tales. In the Thai context, epic is not a genre in its own right but there is an epic element in both dramatic and narrative literature and it is more marked in the latter because there it has a more indigenous quality.

Similar arguments concerning a blend of borrowed and of Thai features can be applied to the non-textual aspects of the drama -- music and the dance. It is a question of adaptation in a local environment which has existed for at least five hundred years and the synthesis is a Thai one. This constitutes an original contribution to world drama.

Lakhōn Nai, the particular subject of this thesis is a specialized development within the general field of Lakhōn. More than any other type it has evolved within the confines of the court. The context of performance is that of a court ceremony involving the King and is on the occasion of ceremonies of an auspicious nature, as, for example, the welcoming of a royal white elephant.

The magico-religious function is present in the background as is the case with all forms of the drama. Moreover, the subject of Lakhōn Nai is drawn from a source which is less intimately connected with the religious aspect of the monarchy. The attention given to the aesthetic side of the performance in terms of the music, the dance and the text itself which reaches its culmination in the Inao of King Rama II suggests that Lakhōn Nai was also valued as an artistic activity in its own right produced by the ladies of the palace for the King. The poetry, the music, the dance and even the costuming demonstrate or have links with every kind of Thai court art and provide a supreme vehicle for their expression.

## APPENDIXES



Opening	Manuscript	Printed Text	Page
12, C 11 K 6 /W 2	เอาฤกษ์ฟ้าได้ฤกษ์เทวานั้น	เอาฤกษ์ฟ้าที่ได้ฤกษ์เทวานั้น	7
15, C 12 K 12/W 1	อันฟ้าเลี้ยงกุมารบุตรไช	อันฟ้าเลี้ยงกุมารบุตรไช	8
18, C 13 K 17/W 2	เหมือนกันกับพี่น้องดาหา	ก็เหมือนกันกับพี่น้องดาหา	9
19, C 14 K 1 /W 2	ระเด่นมนตรีรุ่งฟ้า	ระเด่นมนตรีมีสง่า	10
19, C 14 K 3 /W 2	ตั้งรวมครรพาทันสองศรี	ตั้งรวมครรพาทังสองศรี	10
19, C 14 K 4 /W 1	ฝ่ายอนุชาเล่าก็รักดี	องค์อนุชาก็รักดี	10
20, C 14 K 17/W 2	พระหัตถ์ซ้ายกุมชาญญาติ	พระหัตถ์ซ้ายกุมชาญญาติ	11
23, C 21 K 1 /W 1	เจ้าฟ้า	เจ้าเอ๋ยเจ้าฟ้า	13
23, C 21 K 2 /W 2	จะไทรองเกราจาประการใด	จะให้พี่ว่าขานประการใด	13
23, C 21 K 3 /W 2	แอบอิงพิงพาคพิสมัย	แอบอิงสัมผัสพิสมัย	13
23, C 23 K 1 /W 1	สุดสวาค	สุดเอ๋ยสุดสวาท	13
23, C 23 K 2 /W 1	แตรระบมเกรียมกรมทูลราตรี	แตรระบมเตรียมกรมทูลราตรี	13
24, C 23 K 4 /W 1	จะเป็นเพื่อนนิทราให้ยาใจ	จะเป็นเพื่อนนิทรายาใจ	13
24, C 23 K 8 /W 2	ยินดีเริ่มรศกริธา	ยินดีร่วมรศกริธา	14
28, C 28 K 2 /W 2	มิช้าก็ใดครบครัน	มิช้าก็ใดครบครัน	15

Opening	Manuscript	Printed Text	Page
28, C 29 K 1 /W 2	พระสุริวงษทรงสวคิรัศมี	พระสุริวงศ์อิเหนาเรื่องศรี	15
28, C 29 K 4 /W 1	พรงนี้พี่จะไปพิลาศไพร	พรงนี้พี่จะไปประพาสไพร	16
31, C 29 K 31/W 2	ไค <sup>๒๒</sup> ตนกร่างใหญ่ไบทนา	ไค <sup>๒๒</sup> ตนกร่างใหญ่ไบทนา	17
31, C 29 K 32/W 2	จะเกราหมุ่เสนานิกรไกร	จะเกราหมุ่เสนาพลไกร	17
32, C 30 K 9 /W 2	ไปไค <sup>๒๒</sup> ขามาใช้ซื้อหลอหระ	ไปไค <sup>๒๒</sup> ขามาใช้ซื้อหลอหระ	17
36, C 37 K 2 /W 2	บุหงาแปรบานตระการใจ	บุหงาแบ่งบานตระการใจ	19
38, C 40 K 3 /W 1	ที่ว่ามามีไชเทวี	ที่ว่ามานี้ไชเทวี	20
41, C 46 K 1 /W 1	บัดนั้น	เมื่อนั้น	22
44, C 52 K 3 /W 1	ชีวิตข้าแม่มลูกทั้งสอง	ชีวิตข้าแม่มลูกทั้งสองไซ้	24
46, C 55 K 2 /W 1	ใครอาจนินทานารี	ใครจะอาจนินทานารี	25
47, C 57 K 3 /W 1	ซึ่งว่าศรีปัตทราจะพุมไฟ	ซึ่งว่าศรีปัตทราจะวามวู	26
47, C 57 K 5 /W 1	จะสำนักยังเห็นเนินไสลย	จะสำนักเขาเขินเนินไศล	26
50, C 62 K 2 /W 1	เรงรรื่นขึ้นเรงค์เปรมปรี	เรงรรื่นขึ้นบานเปรมปรี	28

## APPENDIX II

Lexical variants involving the structural rhyme between the Somdet Phra Rācha Pitulā manuscript and the printed text (1956 edition) of Dālang.

Opening	Manuscript	Printed Text	Page
4, C 1 K 32/W 2	มีศึกพิฆาฏมาซึ่งไพรินท์	มีศึกพิฆาฏมาซึ่งไพร	2
4, C 1 K 33/W 1	ไต่บันกลองร้องปาวประหาราษ	ไต่บันกลองร้องปาวประหาราษ ราชวร	2
4, C 1 K 33/W 2	ก็ชวนกันผันผาคดงราชสิน	ก็ชวนกันผันผาคดงราชสิทธิ์	2
4, C 1 K 34/W 1	จัดจับอาวุธกุมทมิณ	กรกุมอาวุธควดฤทธิ	2
4, C 1 K 34/W 2	คอยผลาญชีวินอยู่อัครา	คอยผลาญชีวีอยู่อัครา	2
46, C 55 K 3/W 2	ไม่เจ็ดฉันเหมือนน้อง— อย่าหมองหมาง	ไม่เจ็ดฉันเหมือนนุช— สุกสงสาร	25

## APPENDIX III

Lexical variants between the India Office Library manuscript and the printed text (1949 edition) of Inao.

Opening	Manuscript	Printed Text	Page
K 1, C 1 2 /W 2	ผู้ร่วมใจ	อันร่วมใจ	116
K 2, C 1 8 /W 1	นำหน้าภาจรจัน	นำหน้าจรจรัล	116
K 3, C 5 9 /W 2	ตั้งป้อมหัดป็นทวยหาร	ตั้งป้อมหัดป็นตรงนำฉาน	117
K 3, C 5 10 /W 1	รักแรงให้ทำการ	รักแรงทำการ	117
K 3, C 6 2 /W 1	จับชายกรายกรจรจัน	จึงเสด็จย่างเปื่องจรจรัล	117
K 4, C 7 1 /W 2	ฤาไทย	หฤไทย	117
K 5, C 10 8 /W 2	พระเชษฐาสององค์จงใจ	พระเชษฐาสงสารวาคาญใจ	119
K 5, C 10 9 /W 1	ให้ไปขอ	จึงไปขอ	119
K 5, C 10 9 /W 2	จึงมาทำวิวาท	มาทำวิวาท	119
K 6, C 11 5 /W 1	ลงจากบันลึงรถ	ลงจากราขรถ	119
K 6, C 13 2 /W 1	อัญชลี	อัญชลี	120
K 6, C 13 4 /W 1	พยุห์	พยุห์	120



Opening	Manuscript	Printed Text	Page
K 6, C 13 4 /W 2	อรัญ	อรัญ	120
K 7, C 14 4 /W 2	คักคั่นกงครมานี้	คักคั่นกงคองมาทางนี้	120
K 7, C 16 2 /W 1	เมื่อจะถึงอาสาญวันตาย	เมื่อจะสิ้นอาสาญวันตาย	121
K 8, C 18 4 /W 1	เซ่นา	เส่นา	121
K 9, C 19 4 /W 1	นาคอตัวรูกูคะนอง	นาคอตัวรูกูคะนอง	121
K 9, C 19 6 /W 1	จึงเรียกบ่าว	ก็เรียกบ่าว	121
K 9, C 20 1 /W 1	เห็นมรฤตอัศครรพล	พลแลเห็นมรฤตชพล	122
K 9, C 20 2 /W 1	หลากจิตรคิตะวงสงกา	ให้คิตสงไสยในวิญญา	122
K 9, C 21 2 /W 1	ไอเหล่านี้นาวใคร	อ้ายนี้นาวใคร	122
K 10, C 22 3 /W 1	วิไสย	นิไสย	122
K 10, C 22 3 /W 2	จะรู้จักท้าวพญานันทาไม่	จะรู้จักท้าวพระยาภิหาไม่	122
K 10, C 22 4 /W 1	ถึงห้าม	ถึงจะห้าม	122
K 10, C 22 4 /W 2	เหตุไร	เหตุใด	122
K 10, C 23 1 /W 2	เหล่านทหารหุ่นหันมันได้	พวกทหารได้ฟังก็มันได้	122
K 10, C 23 3 /W 1	เมื่อไม่รู้พวกก็บอกให้	ว่าไม่รู้ก็บอกออกให้	122

Opening	Manuscript	Printed Text	Page
11, C 23 K 4 /W 1	อวคกลาน้ำหน้ามิง	อวคกลาน้ำมิง	123
11, C 25 K 2 /W 2	วังกรูออกมา	วังกรูออกมา	123
11, C 25 K 3 /W 1	บ้างฉวยไม้พลอง	บ้างฉวยได้ไม้พลอง	123
12, C 26 K 6 /W 2	ไฉ่กระชิต	ไฉ่ประชิต	123
13, C 29 K 5 /W 2	ม้วยมุดลงมากหลาย	ม้วยมุดเป็นมากหลาย	124
13, C 29 K 6 /W 1	แตกนไปจนปลาย	แตกจนจนปลทย	124
14, C 30 K 4 /W 2	จะมีฤทธิไกร	มันจะมีฤทธิไกร	125
14, C 30 K 5 /W 1	อีกฮักหนักหนา	อีกฮักเป็นหนักหนา	125
14, C 31 K 2 /W 2	ไปตรวจเตรียมโยชิตุภกระ- ทรวง	ออกมาจัดโยชิตุภกระทรวง	125
16, C 35 K 1 /W 2	พระสุริยวงศ์องค์สาระบันหยี	พระโณมยงองค์มีสาระบันหยี	126
16, C 35 K 5 /W 2	จะมีเหตุสักสิ่งหนึ่งให้ได้	คงมีเหตุสักสิ่งจึงเป็นได้	126
16, C 36 K 2 /W 2	ยอมคิดคอกอความ	ยอมมีเหตุกอกความ	126
17, C 37 K 4 /W 1	ถ้าไปสืบไม่สมเหมือนพาที	ถ้าสืบไปไม่สมเหมือนพาที	126
17, C 38 K 1 /W 2	ได้ฟังยั้งสงไสย	ได้ฟังยั้งสงสัย	126

Opening	Manuscript	Printed Text	Page
17, C 39 K 3 /W 1	กริ่งใจเข้าไปดูด้วยสงกา	กริ่งใจเข้าไปดูด้วยสงกา	127
18, C 39 K 4 /W 1	นั่งมอง	ลงนั่งมอง	127
18, C 43 K 1 /W 2	พระโณมยวงวอลัญะแหทวา	มีสารบันทยีสักกาหระ	128
19, C 43 K 2 /W 2	จะโทโสโกรธา	จะโมโหโกรธา	128
20, C 43 K 6 /W 2	ออกสนามในครั้ง	ออกสนามครั้งนี้	128
20, C 43 K 7 /W 2	ให้พร้อมสรวับโดยกระบวน	ให้พร้อมสรรพตามกระบวน	128
20, C 43 K 8 /W 1	ทำความเข้าใจ	ทำความเข้าใจ	128
20, C 44 K 1 /W 2	เสนาผู้ใหญ่	เสนาอัคราไศรย	128
21, C 45 K 3 /W 2	ทักทักนิกพรัน	ทักทักให้นิกพรัน	128
21, C 45 K 12/W 2	คึกคึกคักคักทั้งแดนดง	คอยเสด็จทรงศักดิ์ยาตรา	129
22, C 46 K 1 /W 2	บันทยิมีสักกีสั่งส่ง	มีสารบันทยีสักกาหระ	129
22, C 46 K 2 /W 1	เสด็จจากแท่นสุวรรณบัณจง	จึงสระสระทรงเครื่องมูรธา	129
22, C 46 K 2 /W 2	ไปชำระสระสระสงคร	ตามตำราทรงคัยงมูรธา	129
22, C 46 K 3 /W 1	สอดใส่เครื่องพิไชยสงคราม	บรรจงทรงสอดสนับเพล	129
22, C 46 K 3 /W 2	ส่งางามังราชไกรษร	ภูษาณึ่งหนองเนาไม่เลือนหลุด	129

Opening	Manuscript	Printed Text	Page
		ฉลององค์เกราะสุวรรณกันอาวุธ	129
		เจียรนาคผาคฤศพรพราย	129
		คาบทิศทัพร วงดวงกุดัน	129
		คาคเข็มจักรคัมภีร์ สันสาย	129
		สังวาลประดับทัพบิรมาย	129
		ทองกรจำหลักลายลงยา	129
		ธำมรงค์คำเมืองเรืองระยับ	129
		คาดพิบพันโพกเกษา	129
22, C 46 K 4 /W 1	แต่งอย่างชาวป่าพนาค	แต่งเป็นเช่นชาวอริยว	129
22, C 46 K 4 /W 2	กุมภฤชฤทธิรอนสำหรับมือ	กุมภฤชฤทธาสำหรับมือ	129
22, C 46 K 5 /W 1	มาทรงมาคนรณฤศ	มาทรงอาชาม้าที่นั่ง	129
22, C 46 K 5 /W 2	เหยียบโกลนชักชุดสายถือ	พระหัตถ์ทรงเหนี่ยวรั้งสาย ถือ	129
22, C 47 K 3 /W 2	จุมรายไวยายมา	จุมรายอูยายมา	130
23, C 47 K 8 /W 1	จักรวาทมหวมกกอง	จักรวาทมหวมกกอง	130

Opening	Manuscript	Printed Text	Page
23, C 48 K 1 /W 2	ฝ่ายระตุมุสลิหนา	ระตุมุสลิหนา	130
23, C 49 K 1 /W 1	จึงสำอางอ่องคฺสร งสนาญ	จึงเข้าที่ชำระสระสนาน	130
23, C 49 K 3 /W 2	รคองคฺพรวณรายสายกร ะสัน	จักกลีบจีบประจงทรงกร ะสัน	130
23, C 49 K 4 /W 1	เลื่อนวมสวมทรงเกราะสุวรรณ	ฉดององคฺทรงใส่เกราะสุวรรณ	130
23, C 49 K 4 /W 2	ทั้พรวงควงกุดันจินดา	สำหรับกันสาคราอาวช	130
		ห้อยนำเจียรบาดคาคทั้	130
		ปั้นเท่งสายปานพับประคัมบุษย์	130
		ใส่สังวาลรงคฺยงยุทช	130
		ทองกรชมพุนุทรจนา	130
24, C 49 K 5 /W 1	สอคแหวนนพรัตน์พระหัฐชัย	สอคทรงตำมรงค์เรือนสุบรรณ	130
24, C 49 K 5 /W 2	เทพพรายชำมรงทรงเบื่องขวา	มงกุฎกรรเจียรจระชัยขวา	130
24, C 49 K 6 /W 1	เห็นภฤชฤทธิไกรแล้วไคลคลา	เห็นภฤชฤทธิไกรไคลคลา	130
24, C 49 K 6 /W 2	เสด็จมาห้องทองเทวี	เสด็จมาห้องสุวรรณเทวี	130
25, C 51 K 4 /W 2	ถึงแม่นมาค	ถึงมาทแม่น	131
25, C 52 K 1 /W 2	ท้าวบุษลิหนา	ระตุมุสลิหนา	131

Opening	Manuscript	Printed Text	Page
25, C 52 K 2 /W 2	ว่าไยอย่างนี้กะถิดยา	ว่าไยอย่างนี้ถิดยา	131
26, C 52 K 7 /W 2	เกรียมกรม	เกรียมกรม	131
26, C 55 K 1 /W 2	ขุนพลรบสังใส่เกษา	นายทัพรบสังใส่เกษา	132
26, C 55 K 2 /W 1	ให้ตั้งโห่สำทับขบโยธา	ต่างคนต่างขบโยธา	132
27, C 55 K 4 /W 1	ระคมเป็นตะบึงตึงตัง	ทนายเป็นยิงเป็นตึงตัง	132
28, C 56 K 3 /W 1	ที่นั่งหลุมชุมนุมคอบรบ	ที่เหล่านั่งหลุมชุมนุมคอบรบ	132
28, C 56 K 5 /W 1	ช่องพุ่งหอกชักแลหอกคู่	บ้างลุยไล่สพัดชักหอกคู่	132
29, C 56 K 6 /W 2	เยาะเย้ยโยไฟ	เยาะเย้ยไปมา	132
29, C 57 K 1 /W 2	ระตูมลิธนาเป็นใหญ่	ระตูมลิธนา	133
29, C 57 K 2 /W 1	เห็นข้าศึกฮึกหาญชาญชัย	เห็นโจรไพรไล่พลโยธา	133
29, C 57 K 2 /W 2	รุกไล่พลมาถึงหน้าทัพ	แตกกระจ่ายพ่ายมาจนหน้าทัพ	133
30, C 58 K 2 /W 1	เห็นระตูเร่งรันพลไกร	เห็นระตูก่อนพลสกลไกร	133
30, C 58 K 3 /W 1	พระก่อนพลพาชีในกองหลวง	พระไล่พลพาชีกองหลวง	133
30, C 58 K 4 /W 1	แยกปีกหลักเลยลงมา	บ้างร่ำทวนสวนแทงบนหลังม้า	133
30, C 58 K 4 /W 2	ทหารมาหมายมุ่ง	ชักอาชาหมายมุ่ง	133

Opening	Manuscript	Printed Text	Page
30, C 58 K 5 /W 1	ตั้งกันพันฟาด	ตั้งกันเข้าพันฟาด	133
31, C 59 K 5 /W 1	เหลือบเห็นมันหยี	แลเห็นมันหยี	133
31, C 59 K 5 /W 2	พริ้งเพราเพียงเหลาหล่อ	พริ้งเพราดังเหลาหล่อ	133
31, C 59 K 6 /W 4	น่าจะเป็นพวกเฒ่าเหล้ากอ	น่าจะมีพงศ์เฒ่าเหล้ากอ	133
31, C 59 K 8 /W 1	ทางกลาววาจา	ทางมีวาจา	133
31, C 59 K 9 /W 2	ชวนกันก่อการ	ชวนกันทำการ	133
31, C 59 K 12/W 1	บ่าวท่านโอหังบังอาจใจ	บ่าวท่านอาจองทะนงใจ	133
31, C 59 K 14/W 2	เร่งส่งตัวมันมาบัดนี้	เร่งส่งมันมาแต่โดยดี	133
32, C 60 K 1 /W 2	องค์สาระบันหยี	องค์มิสาระบันหยี	134
32, C 60 K 12/W 1	จงเลิกทัพกลับไป	จงยกทัพกลับไป	134
33, C 61 K 1 /W 2	ท้าวบุษลีหนา	ระตูบุษลีหนา	134
33, C 61 K 3 /W 1	จึงร้องว่าเหวยเหวย	จึงร้องว่าเหว	135
34, C 63 K 3 /W 2	ไม่หย่อนหยุด	ไม่ยังหยุด	135
34, C 64 K 3 /W 2	หลบหลีกลงพอ	หลบหลีกเลี้ยวล่อ	135
36, C 68 K 4 /W 1	บ้างฉวยไคตามคร่ำ	ฉวยไคตามคร่ำ	136

Opening	Manuscript	Printed Text	Page
36, C 68 K 5 /W 1	เห็นทวนทองสัปทนเกลื่อนกล่นทิ้ง	เห็นทวนทองสัปทนที่ทิ้งไว้	136
36, C 68 K 5 /W 2	พวกไพร่ไล่ชิง	บ่าวไพร่ไล่ชิง	136
36, C 69 K 1 /W 2	องค์สาระบันหยี	องค์มิสาระบันหยี	136
36, C 69 K 2 /W 2	ก็เลิกทัพกลับไปยังพลับพลา	ก็กลับไปประทับพลับพลา	136
37, C 71 K 1 /W 2	สองกระษัตริย์ราชเรืองศรี	สองกระษัตริย์สุริยวงศ์เรืองศรี	137
38, C 75 K 1 /W 2	องค์ตั้งปะติเฑาะ	องค์ตั้งปะติเฑาะ	138
38, C 75 K 3 /W 1	อันสาระบันหยี	อันมิสาระบันหยี	138
38, C 75 K 4 /W 2	หนอนาณนักราฎเรบัน	โอรสาองค์ท้าวภูเรบัน	138
38, C 75 K 5 /W 2	ชีวิตชีวาแล	ชีวิตอาลัย	138
39, C 77 K 3 /W 1	จึงตรัส	แล้วตรัส	138
40, C 77 K 5 /W 1	ขามฤทธิพิภพการา	ขามเคชเคชา	139
40, C 77 K 5 /W 2	แล้วเป็นวงษ์เทวา	ทั้งเป็นวงศ์เทวา	139
40, C 77 K 6 /W 1	แม่นพิยกพลไกร	แม่นจะยกพลไกร	139
40, C 77 K 8 /W 1	จำจะออกอัน	จำจะไอนอัน	139
40, C 77 K 9 /W 1	ไปขอออกบันหยี	จะไปออกบันหยี	139



Opening	Manuscript	Printed Text	Page
41, C 80 K 1 /W 2	องค์ประไหมสุหรี	สองประไหมสุหรี	139
41, C 80 K 3 /W 2	เมืองฟ้าธานี	เมืองฟ้าในธานี	140
42, C 80 K 11/W 2	เอาเชือกจุกก็ขาดไม่หว่าดไหว	เอาเชือกจุกก็ไม่ว่าดหว่าดไหว	140
42, C 80 K 12/W 1	จึงสั่งให้ตีฆ้อง	จึงให้ตีฆ้อง	140
43, C 80 K 26/W 2	ขวัญเมืองจงฟังวาที	จะได้ฟังทรงธรรมธิบถ	141
43, C 81 K 1 /W 2	ทั้งสองสุคา	ทั้งสองธิดา	141
44, C 81 K 2 /W 2	พลางไศกี	ไศกี	141
44, C 82 K 3 /W 1	เกรียมกรม	เกรียมกรม	141
44, C 82 K 6 /W 1	ทอดองค์ลงไศกา	ซ่อนทรวงเข้าไศกา	141
44, C 83 K 1 /W 2	ส่งสาร	ก็ส่งสาร	141
45, C 83 K 8 /W 2	จงออก่อน	จงโอนอ่อน	141
46, C 83 K 14/W 2	พางเพียง	ปิ่นปาง	142
46, C 85 K 1 /W 1	ลดองค์ลงเหนือบันดังอาศ	ลดองค์ลงนั่งเหนืออาสน์	142
47, C 87 K 1 /W 2	ประไหมสุหรีมีศักดิ์ทั้งสอง	องค์ประไหมสุหรีทั้งสอง	143
47, C 88 K 3 /W 2	พระน้องไฉนลงองค์	พระน้องนุลงองค์	143

Opening	Manuscript	Printed Text	Page
47, C 88 K 4 /W 1	ต่างสอคลังวารวัน	ต่างใส่สังวาลวรรณ	143
47, C 88 K 5 /W 1	นางสอศพาหุรัต	นางทรงพาหุรัต	143
47, C 88 K 7 /W 1	สองอนงทรงมงกุฏ	นางทรงมงกุฏ	143
48, C 89 K 22 /W 2	ไปเฝ้า	มาเฝ้า	143
49, C 92 K 2 /W 2	ชูลีลา	ชูลีลา	144
49, C 92 K 3 /W 1	มาขึ้นรถ	มาทรงรถ	144
49, C 92 K 5 /W 1	พร้อมพี่เลี้ยงแลก้านัล	พร้อมพี่เลี้ยงก้านัล	144
49, C 93 K 3 /W 2	ให้คร้ามครัน	คร้ามครัน	144
50, C 95 K 1 /W 2	มีสาระบันหยี	องค์มีสาระบันหยี	145
50, C 95 K 2 /W 1	ขึ้นชมพิรมฤาไทย	ขึ้นชมโสมนัสหัตไทย	145
50, C 95 K 5 /W 1	แล้วเป็นคนใหม่	ทั้งเป็นคนใหม่	145
51, C 96 K 2 /W 1	รับรศพจนาทภูวไน	รับราชปัญชาแล้วคลาไคล	145
51, C 96 K 2 /W 2	แล้วออกไป	ออกไป	145
51, C 97 K 1 /W 2	องค์สาระบันหยี	องค์มีสาระบันหยี	145
52, C 98 K 6 /W 1	จะขอรับประทาน	จะขอประทาน	146

Opening	Manuscript	Printed Text	Page
52, C 99 K 5 /W 1	เราจะห้ามเท่าไร	เราจะว่าเท่าไร	146
52, C 99 K 7 /W 1	สามองค์ทรงเยาว์	สามองค์นั่งเยาว์	146
53, C 99 K 10/W 2	ร่วมรักร่วมชีวิต	รักร่วมชีวิต	146
53, C 99 K 12/W 2	เข้าไปในห้องทองที่ไสยา	เข้าไปในห้องที่ไสยา	146

## APPENDIX IV

The epithets used in the Dālang and Inao printed texts.

a) Substitutions for kings or princes.

Dālang

Inao

ท้าวไท

ท้าวไท

พระจอมจักร

—

พระจักรี

—

พระทรงภูษ

—

พระอิศวร

—

พระแก้ว

—

พระเจ้า

—

พระเป็นเจ้า

—

พระคุณเจ้า

—

เจ้าฟไท่

—

เจ้าขรณี

—

พระองค์ทรงขรณี

พระองค์ทรงขรณี

พระผู้เป็นขรณี

—

พระผกขรณี

—

DālangInao

พระผู้ทรงจรรณิ

—

พระองค์ผู้ทรงจรรณิ

—

ท้าวไทเป็นจรรณิ

—

พระเป็นจรรณิ

—

—

นเรนทรสุร

—

ไทธิเบศร์

พระองค์ทรงภพไตร

พระองค์ทรงภพไตร

พระองค์ผู้ทรงภพไตร

—

พระจอมภพ

—

พระจอมไตร

—

—

พระจอมภพไตร

พระทรงภพ

พระทรงภพ

พระองค์ทรงภพ

—

พระโณมงาม

พระโณมงาม

พระโณมยง

พระโณมยง

พระผู้เจ็ดโณมยง

พระผู้เจ็ดโณมยง

Dālang

พระโณมลาย

โณมลาย

พระโณมศรี

พระทรงโณม

พระทรงเคช

ทรงเคช

พระทรงธรรม

ทรงธรรม

พระทรงยศ

ทรงยศ

พระทรงฤทธิ

ทรงฤทธิ

พระองค์ผู้ทรงฤทธิไกร

พระทรงชัย

พระทรงศักดิ์

ทรงศักดิ์

Inao

พระโณมลาย

โณมลาย

พระโณมศรี

พระทรงโณม

พระทรงเคช

ทรงเคช

พระทรงธรรม

ทรงธรรม

พระทรงยศ

ทรงยศ

พระทรงฤทธิ

ทรงฤทธิ

พระองค์ผู้ทรงฤทธิไกร

พระทรงชัย

พระทรงศักดิ์

ทรงศักดิ์

Dalang

พระทรงสวัสดิ์

—

พระทราเมชัย

พระทูลกระหม่อม

พระบรมนาถา

—

พระปิ่นสุธารา

พระปิ่นภพ

พระปิ่นปักนักรา

พระผู้ปิ่นนักรา

—

พระผ้านเกล้า

—

พระผ้านฟ้า

—

พระผ้านฟ้าสุราลัย

Tnao

—

พระทรงลักษณ

—

พระทูลกระหม่อม

—

บรมนาถ

—

พระปิ่นภพ

—

—

พระผู้ปิ่นปักนักรเศ

พระผ้านเกล้า

ผ้านเกล้า

พระผ้านฟ้า

—

ผ้านฟ้า

—

Dālang

—

พระพนปี

พนปี

—

พระผู้เป็นเกล้า

พระผู้เป็นไธสวรรย์

ผู้ผ่านไธสวรรย์

—

พระผู้ผ่านธานี

—

พระผู้ผ่านนัคเรศ

พระผู้ผ่านพิภพ

พระเป็นราชย์

พระผู้ทรงราชย์

พระผู้ผ่านราชย์

พระวงศ์อัสญ

Inao

พระยอดฟ้า

—

พนปี

พระเป็นเกล้า

—

—

—

พระผู้ผ่านไธสวรรย์

—

พระผู้ทรงนัครา

พระผู้ผ่านนัคเรศ

—

—

—

—

—



DālangInao

—

พระผู้พวงศอัสถุทยา

พระภูธร

พระภูธร

ภูธร

ภูธร

พระภูบาล

พระภูบาล

ภูบาล

ภูบาล

พระภูมิ

พระภูมิ

ภูมิ

ภูมิ

พระภูวคด

พระภูวคด

ภูวคด

ภูวคด

พระภูวไฉย

พระภูวไฉย

ภูวไฉย

ภูวไฉย

ภูวนาถ

ภูวนาถ

ภูวเนตร

—

—

ภูวเรศ

พระรวมแก้ว

—

พระบาท

—

DālangInao

พระฤทธิไกร

—

พระฤทธิรงค์

—

พระภาสาย

พระภาสาย

พระภูมินทร์

—

พระโณมตรุ

พระโณมตรุ

—

พระหนอนาด

—

นรังสรรค์

พระสุริยวงศ์

—

ศรีปัตทรา

ศรีปัตทรา

พระราชา

พระราชา

พระอุทัย

—

Some appear in the form of combined terms which also refer to sovereignty, power and divine race. Such epithets do not extend beyond a single wak (half-line).

DālangInao

จอมเมืองผู้เรืองยศดา

—

—

พระจอมอิสโรโมพี

ท้าวเจ้ากรุงบุรีศรี

—

Dalang

นเรนทรสูตรจอมภพวิศรี

นเรนทรสูตรทรงฤทธิมหิศร

นเรศรูปีนภพ

นเรนทรสูตรป็นภพเป็นใหญ่

นเรนทรสูตรผ่านพิภพไธสวรรย์

นเรนทรสูตรผ่านเขตขัณฑ์

—

พระจอมภพจบสกลกรุงศรี

พระจอมภพจบสกลเป็นใหญ่

พระจอมภพจบขวเป็นใหญ่

—

—

—

พระทรงภพจบโลกเป็นใหญ่

—

Inao

—

—

—

นเรนทรสูตรป็นภพเรืองศรี

—

—

—

นเรนทรสูตรวิษยวงศ์เรืองศรี

—

—

—

พระองค์ผู้ดำรงราชฐาน

พระผู้ครองพิภพเป็นใหญ่

พระทรงภพจบโลกนาถา

—

พระทรงภพจบโลกไม่มีสอง

Dālang

พระทรงภพเป็นใหญ่ใหญ่

—

—

—

พระองค์ทรงพิภพกรังไกร

—

พระองค์ทรงพิภพเป็นใหญ่

พระองค์ทรงพิภพเรืองศรี

—

—

พระองค์ทรงพิภพอิสวรรย์

พระองค์ผู้ดำรงราชย์

—

พระทรงยศปรากฏทุกแห่งหลา

พระทรงยศปราบไค้ทุกทิศา

พระทรงฤทธิ์ปราบทิศทั้งสี่

Inao

—

พระองค์ทรงภพนาถา

พระองค์ทรงภพเป็นใหญ่

พระองค์ทรงภพสขสมัย

—

พระองค์ทรงพิภพนาถา

พระองค์ทรงพิภพเป็นใหญ่

—

พระองค์ทรงพิภพราชฐาน

พระองค์ทรงพิภพสขสมัย

พระองค์ทรงพิภพอิสวรรย์

—

พระองค์ผู้ทรงเขตขัณฑ์

—

—

—

DālangInao

พระทรงฤทธิรอนราญาณพหล

—

—

พระองค์ทรงฤทธิชาณุสนาม

พระทรงฤทธิเรืองราญาณสมร

—

พระทรงฤทธิลือจบสยบสยอน

—

พระทรงฤทธิดำพระสุริย์ใส

—

พระฤทธิไกรชัยชาญ

—

พระฤทธิรงค์องค์พระสุริย์ใส

—

พระทรงศักดิ์ปราบไฉนทุกทิศา

—

พระทรงศักดิ์ปราบไฉนทุกแห่งหน

—

พระทรงสวัสดิศรีศรีใส

—

พระบรมนาถรังสรรค์

—

พระบรมนริราชนาถา

—

พระบรมมมนาถนาถา

—

พระปิ่นเกล้าบรมนาถา

—

—

บรมนรินทร์ปิ่นปัก

พระปิ่นนคราธานี

—

Dālang

—

—

พระปิ่นภพกรุงไกรไธสวรรย์

พระผ่านเกล้าปิ่นภพนาถา

—

—

พระผู้ผ่านนัครากรุงศรี

ไทผ่านภพนาถา

พระผ่านภพนาถา

พระผ่านภพไธสวรรย์นาถา

—

—

—

—

—

พระผู้ปิ่นนัคราเป็นใหญ่

Inao

พระปิ่นปักนัคราเรศราชฐาน

พระปิ่นปักนัคราเรศสูงส่ง

—

—

พระปิ่นภพภูวนาถนาถา

พระปิ่นภพลบโลกเป็นใหญ่

—

—

—

—

พระผู้ผ่านโกไศยไธสวรรย์

พระผู้ผ่านโกไศยไธสุรย์

พระผู้ผ่านพิภพไธสวรรย์

พระปิ่นปักนัคราเรศเป็นใหญ่

พระปิ่นปักนัคราเรศเรืองศรี

—

Dalang

พระภูวไนยเป็นนัครา

พระผู้เป็นพิภพเวียงชัย

พระผู้ผ่านกรุงใหญ่

—

พระผู้ผ่านกรุงไกรมไหสวรย์

—

—

พระผู้ผ่านนัคราศนาถา

พระผู้ผ่านพิชัยกรุงศรี

—

ท้าวผู้ผ่านบุรีศรี

พระผู้ผ่านพิภพกรุงใหญ่

พระผู้ผ่านพิภพเป็นใหญ่

พระผู้ผ่านเวียงชัยบุรีศรี

—

—

Inao

—

—

—

พระผู้ผ่านกรุงไกรโอสวรย์

—

พระผู้ผ่านเขตขัณฑ์สวรบยา

พระผู้ผ่านนัคราศเขตขัณฑ์

—

—

พระผู้ผ่านสวรบยาธานี

—

พระผู้ผ่านพิภพกรุงใหญ่

—

—

พระผู้ผ่านเวียงชัยโอสวรย์

พระผู้ผ่านสวรบยาเป็นใหญ่

Dālang

—

—

—

พระภูธรรุ่งเมืองเวียงศรี

พระรุ่งเมืองเวียงชัยไกรจะตุ้

ท้าวไทพงศ์เทพรังสรรค์

—

พระผู้วงศ์เทวัญอันศักดิ์กา

พระผู้วงศ์เทวัญอันสูงส่ง

—

—

—

พระผู้วงศ์เทเวศอันเจกฉัน

พระผู้วงศ์อัสถุแดท้าว

พระผู้วงศ์เทวัญอันเป็นใหญ่

พระผู้วงศ์พันธุอัสถุแดท้าว

Inao

พระผู้ผ่านไธสวรรย์เวียงชัย

พระผู้ผ่านไธสุรย์เวียงศรี

พระผู้ผ่านไธสุรย์สูงส่ง

—

—

—

พระผู้วงศ์เทวัญศักดิ์กา

—

—

พระผู้วงศ์เทวาในราศี

พระผู้วงศ์เทวากระยาหงัน

พระผู้วงศ์เทวัญอัสถุทยา

—

—

—

—



Dalang

พระผู้วงศ์เทวัญเป็นใหญ่

พระผู้วงศ์เทวัญอันเป็นใหญ่

พระผู้วงศ์เทวัญอันเรืองศรี

พระผู้วงศ์เทวัญอันสูงส่ง

—

—

พระผู้วงศ์อสูรหยา

พระผู้วงศ์อสูรเคหา

—

—

พระสุริยวงศ์เทวัญอสูรหยา

พระสุริยวงศ์เทวัญอันเป็นใหญ่

พระสุริยวงศ์เทวัญอันศักดิ์สิทธิ์

พระสุริยวงศ์เทวัญอันสูงศักดิ์

—

พระสุริยวงศ์เทวากระยาหงัน

Inao

—

—

—

—

พระผู้วงศ์เทวามหาสถาน

พระผู้วงศ์เทวากระยาหงัน

—

—

พระองค์วงศ์อสูรเคหา

พระผู้วงศ์เทวาทักกาหาญ

พระสุริยวงศ์เทวัญอสูรหยา

—

—

—

พระสุริยวงศ์เทวัญอันสูงส่ง

พระสุริยวงศ์เทวากระยาหงัน

DālangInao

พระสุริยวงศ์เทวาศักคาหาญ

—

—

พระสุริยวงศ์เทวาลัษณาสัย

พระสุริยวงศ์พงศ์อัสัญแดหวา

พระสุริยวงศ์พงศ์อัสัญแดหวา

—

พระสุริยวงศ์องค์ศรีปัททรา

—

พระสุริยวงศ์องค์อัสัญแดหวา

พระสุริยวงศ์พงศ์อัสัญเรืองศรี

—

พระองค์พงศ์เฒ่าอัสัญทยา

—

ภูวนาถรังสรรค์

—

The following epithets are used especially as substitutions for the hero; they refer to his handsomeness.

DālangInao

พระงามเลิศเจิดโฉมเสนาหา

—

พระเจิดโฉมประโลมทุกแหล่งหล้า

—

พระเจิดโฉมประโลมเสนาหา

—

พระโฉมยงทรงฤทธิราญรอน

—

—

พระโฉมยงทรงฤทธิพิสมัย

Dalang

พระโณมยงทรงสวัสดิ์

—

พระโณมยงผู้ทรงไธสวรรย์

พระโณมยงพงศ์อัฐแดทวา

—

พระทรงโณมประโลมพิสมัย

พระทรงโณมประโลมจิตพิสมัย

พระทรงโณมประโลมเจ็ดนาย

พระทรงโณมประโลมในสงสาร

พระทรงโณมประโลมเสนา

พระผู้โณมยงทรงฤทธิ

พระผู้ทรงโณมประโลมสวัสดิ์

พระองค์ทรงโณมประโลมเหล่า

—

Inao

—

พระโณมยงทรงสวัสดิ์รัศมี

—

—

พระโณมยงวงศ์อัฐแดทวา

พระทรงโณมประโลมพิสมัย

พระทรงโณมประโลมจิตพิสมัย

—

—

พระทรงโณมประโลมเสนา

—

—

—

พระสุริยวงศ์ทรงลักษณะงามสม

b) The epithets placed after the names of male characters.

For a warrior:

Dālang

เกรียงไกร

—

—

—

—

แข็งขัน

—

—

ใจกล้า

ใจกรรจ

ใจหาญ

—

—

—

Inao

—

กล้าแข็ง

กล้าหาญ

เกลวกล้า

ผู้เกลวกล้า

แข็งขัน

ขันแข็ง

เข้มแข็ง

ใจกล้า

—

ใจหาญ

ใจเหี้ยมหาญ

ศักดาหาญ

หาวหาญ

DālangInao

—

๗๗

ผู้หลวหาญ

ชาญณกรรจ

ชาญณกรรจ

ชาญชัย

ชาญชัย

ชัยชาญ

ชัยชาญ

—

ชาญชัยใจหาญ

ผู้เขียนชาญชัย

—

ทรงชัย

ทรงชัย

เรื่องชัย

เรื่องชัย

ผู้ถือเลื่องเรื่องชัย

—

มีชัยกังไกรสร

—

ชาญสนาม

ชาญสนาม

ชาญสมร

ชาญสมร

—

๗

ผู้ทรงเคช

มีเคชทุกแห่งหน

—

มีเคชหาหาญ

—

เรื่องเคช

—

Dālang

ทรงฤทธิบุกทิสำ

—

—

มีฤทธิสุริย์ใส

มีฤทธิสูงส่ง

ผู้ฤทธิ

เรื่องฤทธิ

เรื่องฤทธิทั้งไกรสร

เรื่องฤทธิบุกทิสำ

—

—

—

ฤทธิไกร

ฤทธิไกรใครจะคู่

—

—

Inao

—

ชาญฤทธิ

มีฤทธิลือเลื่อง

—

—

—

เรื่องฤทธิ

—

—

วราฤทธิ

ฤทธากลาแข็ง

ฤทธาปรากฏ

ฤทธิไกร

—

ฤทธิไกรใจกล้า

ฤทธิไกรชัยชาญ

DālangInao

ฤทธิไกรใจหาญ

—

ฤทธิไกรชัยศรี

—

ฤทธิรงค์

ฤทธิรงค์

ฤทธิรงค์ทรงศักดิ์

—

ฤทธิรงค์ทะนงหาญ

—

—

ฤทธิรงค์เรืองศรี

ฤทธิรงค์องค์หาญ

—

ฤทธิรงค์อาจหาญ

—

ฤทธิรณ

ฤทธิรณ

ฤทธิรอน

—

ฤทธิแรงแข็งขัน

ฤทธิแรงแข็งขัน

ฤทธิเรืองเฟื่องฟ้า

—

ฤทธิล้ำพระสุริย์ฉาน

—

ฤทธิล้ำพระสุริย์ใส

—

ภาฤทธิทุกทิศา

—

ภาสาย

—

Dālang

—

ศักดิ์ดา

ผู้ศักดิ์ดา

—

—

—

For a sovereign:

Dālang

ชิปดี

—

นาถา

—

เป็นใหญ่

มหาศาล (used for  
a Brahmin)

ยศไกร

ยศยง

Inao

ไวว่อง

—

ผู้ศักดิ์ดา

ผู้ทรงศักดิ์ดา

องอาจ

องอาจทั้งราชสิทธิ์

Inaoชิปดี (also used for a  
chief courtier)

ชิปดีมีศักดิ์

นาถา

นราธรรม

เป็นใหญ่

มหาศาล (used for a  
monarch)

ยศไกร

ยศยง



DǎlangInao

มียศ

มียศ

มียศดา (also used for a chief courtier)

มียศดา (also used for a chief courtier)

เวียงยศ

เวียงยศ

ทรงศักดิ์

ทรงศักดิ์

มีศักดิ์

มีศักดิ์

ผู้มีศักดิ์

—

—

ทรงภาพเป็นใหญ่

—

ทรงภาพสบบัษ

—

ผู้ครองราชฐาน

—

ผู้ดำรงกรุงศรี

ผู้ผ่านกรุงศรี

—

ผู้ผ่านกรุงใหญ่

ผู้ผ่านกรุงใหญ่

ผู้ผ่านเขตชั้น

—

ผู้ผ่านเมืองใหญ่

—

ผู้ผ่านภาพไตร

—

—

ผู้ผ่านอาณาจักร

Dälang

๒. ๑. ๒. ๓. ๔. ๕. ๖. ๗. ๘. ๙. ๑๐. ๑๑. ๑๒. ๑๓. ๑๔. ๑๕. ๑๖. ๑๗. ๑๘. ๑๙. ๒๐. ๒๑. ๒๒. ๒๓. ๒๔. ๒๕. ๒๖. ๒๗. ๒๘. ๒๙. ๓๐. ๓๑. ๓๒. ๓๓. ๓๔. ๓๕. ๓๖. ๓๗. ๓๘. ๓๙. ๔๐. ๔๑. ๔๒. ๔๓. ๔๔. ๔๕. ๔๖. ๔๗. ๔๘. ๔๙. ๕๐. ๕๑. ๕๒. ๕๓. ๕๔. ๕๕. ๕๖. ๕๗. ๕๘. ๕๙. ๖๐. ๖๑. ๖๒. ๖๓. ๖๔. ๖๕. ๖๖. ๖๗. ๖๘. ๖๙. ๗๐. ๗๑. ๗๒. ๗๓. ๗๔. ๗๕. ๗๖. ๗๗. ๗๘. ๗๙. ๘๐. ๘๑. ๘๒. ๘๓. ๘๔. ๘๕. ๘๖. ๘๗. ๘๘. ๘๙. ๙๐. ๙๑. ๙๒. ๙๓. ๙๔. ๙๕. ๙๖. ๙๗. ๙๘. ๙๙. ๑๐๐.

**संस्कृत-संज्ञा**

**Quintessence**

**Keywords:** *depression, mood, mood disorder, mood disorder with anxiety, mood disorder without anxiety, mood disorder with anxiety, mood disorder without anxiety, mood disorder with anxiety, mood disorder without anxiety*

[illegible]

Inao

ជួរដំបូង ១០៧

ជួរដំបូង

เล่ห์ไกว

วงศาก

สิ่ง

For the divine race:

Dālang

วังสรวรค

[illegible]

1

**References**

•

สุริยวงศธร กศิก

•

**Abstract**

Inao

วังสรวัด

บรรณารักษ์

พงษ์อสนีเสนา

วงศ์อลัน

สุริยวงศ์

สุริยวงศทร กศกค

สุริยวงศาทรงฤทธิ

สุริยวงศ์เทวัญ

Dālang

สุริยวงศ์นาถา

สุริยวงศ์เป็นใหญ่

สุริยวงศ์เรืองศรี

—

—

—

Inao

สุริยวงศ์นาถา

—

สุริยวงศ์เรืองศรี

สุริยวงศ์รังสรรค์

สุริยวงศ์อภัยหา

อภัยหา

Referring to glory:

Dālang

—

ทรงสวัสดิ์นาถา

ทรงสวัสดิ์ศรี

ผู้ทรงสวัสดิ์

—

สวัสดิ์ศรี

ศรี

Inao

ทรงสวัสดิ์

—

ทรงสวัสดิ์ศรี

—

ผู้ทรงสวัสดิ์

สวัสดิ์ศรี

ศรี

DālangInao

เรื่องนาย

เรื่องนาย

มีศรี

—

มีสง่า

—

รุ่งฟ้า

—

เรื่องศรี

เรื่องศรี

เขาวงกตเรื่องศรี

—

Referring to handsomeness:

DālangInao

—

ผู้เฒ่าโฉมเฉลา

โฉมโฉมประโลมใจ

—

โฉมโฉมพิสมัย

—

โฉมโฉมเสนาหา

—

ผู้เฒ่าโฉมประโลมโลกีย์

—

ผู้เฒ่าโฉมศรี

—

โฉมทรู

—

DālangInao

—

ทรงโฉมเจ็ดชั้น

ทรงลักษณ์เจ็ดชั้น

—

—

ทรงลักษณ์ดาวรรณ

ทรงลักษณ์

—

เพราเพริศเจ็ดฉาย

เพราเพริศเจ็ดฉาย

เขาวรรณสุนทรา

—

บุพเพาว

—

—

เขาวุฒา (also used for  
a female character)

หล่อเหลา

—

อำไพโสศรี

—

For non-royal characters:

DālangInao

—

กล้าหาญ

คนขยัน

คนขยัน

แสนกลคนขยัน

แสนกลคนขยัน

Dālang

แสนกลคนหาญ

ราญรอนคนขยัน

ไม่มีคู่ (also used for  
royal characters)

—

ตัวที่จะมีไหนด

อักษาสัย

ผู้มีอักษาสัย

—

ผู้ใจรักดี

ผู้รักดี

ผู้ปรีชา

—

ปรีชาชาญ

—

ปัญญาบง

ปัญญาไว

Inao

—

—

—

ตัวที่ไม่มีคู่

—

อักษาสัย

ผู้มีอักษาสัย

มีอักษา

ผู้ใจรักดี

ผู้รักดี (also used for  
royal characters)

—

ปรีชาไวว่อง (also used for  
royal characters)

—

ปรีชาหาญ

—

—

DālangInao

—

ปัญาว่าวอง

—

ลั่นลมคมสัน

อันยิ่งยง

—

—

ผู้ร่วมจิต

—

ผู้ร่วมใจ

—

อันร่วมใจ

c) The epithets placed before the names of male characters.

DālangInao

พระปิ่นเกศ

พระปิ่นเกศเขตขัณฑ์

โคม

โคม

—

โคมยง

ท่านท้าว

—

—

ท่านท้าวเจ้าเมือง

—

พระผู้เจ็ดโคมยง

—

พระปิ่นปักนาคเรศ

Dālang

พระภูมินทร์ปิ่นภพ

พระผ่านภพ

—

—

—

—

—

พระราชวงศ์

เอกอัคร

—

—

เจ้านครา

พระจอมภพ

—

—

Inao

—

พระผ่านภพ

พระผู้ผ่านเขตขันฑ์

พระผู้ผ่านบุรินทร์

พระสุริยวงศ์ทรงภพ

พระองค์ทรงภพ

พระองค์ทรงพิภพ

—

—

เอกองค์

เจ้าจอมหม่อม

—

พระจอมภพ

พระปิ่นภพ

มงกุฎเกศ



The poets may place the epithets on both sides of the character-names. This normally occurs in Wak Rap (the second half-line of a couplet) which is next to the introductory phrase 'mu'a nan'.

DālangInao

พระจอมภพ...เป็นใหญ่

—

—

พระจอมภพ...เรืองศรี

—

พระจอมภพ...อดัญญา

—

พระทรงภพ...นาถา

—

พระทรงภพ...มหาศาล

—

พระทรงภพ...เรืองศรี

—

พระผ่านภพ...นาถา

—

พระผ่านภพ...สูงส่ง

พระผ่านภพ...เป็นใหญ่

—

พระผ่านภพ...สูงส่ง

—

—

พระผู้ผ่าน...นาถา

—

พระปิ่นเกล้า...เป็นใหญ่

—

พระปิ่นภพ...เป็นใหญ่

พระสุริยวงศ์...เรืองศรี

—

## d) Substitutions for queens or princesses.

Dālang

กัลยาณี

—

นางกัลยาณี

กัลยา

นางกัลยา

—

จอมขวัญ

—

โฉมฉาย

นางโฉมฉาย

โฉมเฉลา

โฉมเฉลาขาวดกัณฑ์

—

โฉมศรี

Inao

—

แก้วกัลยาณี

—

กัลยา

นางกัลยา

กัลยาบุพผาล

จอมขวัญ

นางจอมขวัญ

โฉมฉาย

นางโฉมฉาย

โฉมเฉลา

โฉมเฉลาขาวดกัณฑ์

โฉมเฉลาขาวดกัณฑ์วิไล

โฉมศรี

Dālang

นางโฉมตรู

โฉมยง

นางโฉมยง

โฉมยงนางลักษณ์

—

—

—

โฉมศรี

นางโฉมศรี

โฉมศรีเสนาหา

โฉมสวรรค์

ดวงจันทร์

ทราวมวัย

นางทราวมวัย

—

—

Inao

นางโฉมตรู

โฉมยง

นางโฉมยง

โฉมยงนางลักษณ์

โฉมยงนางเยาว์

โฉมยงยอดสงสาร

โฉมยงอนงค์นวด

โฉมศรี

นางโฉมศรี

—

—

—

ทราวมวัย

นางทราวมวัย

ทราวมวัยวิไลลักษณ์

ทราวมวัยวิไลวรรณ

Dālang

เทวี

นางเทวี

นงคราญ

—

—

—

นงลักษณ์

นงลักษณ์ขาวม้าย

—

นฤมล , นีรมล

นางนฤมล

นวลนาง

—

นวลละออง

—

—

Inao

เทวี

นางเทวี

นงคราญ

นงเยาว์

นางนงเยาว์

นงราม

นงลักษณ์

—

นางนงลักษณ์

นฤมล

นางนฤมล

นวลนาง

นวลนาฏโณมศรี

นวลละออง

นวลหงส์

นวลอนงค์

Dālang

นางคราญ

นางงาม

บั้งอร

บั้งอรโฉมศรี

—

พระเขาวราช

มารศรี

ยุพาพาล

เขาวมัลย์

ยอดเขาวมัลย์

เขาวมิ่ง

—

เขาวเรศ

เขาวลักษณะ

—

วนิดา

Inao

—

—

บั้งอร

—

นางบั้งอร

—

มารศรี

—

เขาวมัลย์

ยอดเขาวมัลย์

—

เขาวราช

เขาวเรศ

เขาวลักษณะ

เขาวลักษณะเสนาหา

วนิดา

Dālang

พินดา

—

—

—

—

วมิ่ง

—

สาวศรี

นางสาวศรี

—

—

สาวสรวรรคกัถยา

—

—

สาวสวัสค์

อรไท

Inao

พินดา

พินดากวงจันทร

วนิดามารศรี

วนิดาลาวรรณ

วนิดาเขาวมาลย์

—

ศรีสมร

สาวศรี

นางสาวศรี

สาวสรวรรค

นางสาวสรวรรค

—

สาวสรวรรคกัถยา

สาวสรวรรคขวัญตา

—

อรไท

Dālang

นางอรไท

—

—

—

อัศว

เอกอัศว

Inao

นางอรไท

อรไทแจ่มจันทร์

อรไทเทวี

อรไทวิไลวรรณ

อัศว

—

The above epithets, which are used as substitutions for royal female characters, refer to beauty, youthfulness, or dignity. The following ones are terms of endearment used by the hero.

Dālang

แกว

แกวักดา

—

แกวพี่

—

—

แกวตา

Inao

แกว

แกวักดา

แกวักดาณี

แกวพี่

แกวกลอยใจ

แกวแวตา

แกวตา

Dālang

๒ ๒  
เจ้าแก้วตา

๒ ๒ ๒  
แก้วตาผู้ปลื้มอาศัยพี่

—

๒ ๒  
เจ้าแก้วตาบ่าใจ

—

—

๒ ๒  
น้องแก้ว

ขนิษฐา

—

๒  
ขวัญข้าว

—

ขวัญตา

—

—

—

—

Inao

—

—

๒  
แก้วตาบ่าใจ

—

๒  
แก้วตามารศรี

๒  
แก้วตาผู้พาพาด

๒ ๒  
น้องแก้ว

—

๒  
ขนิษฐาบ่าใจ

๒  
ขวัญข้าว

๒  
สาวสวรรค์ขวัญข้าว

๒  
ขวัญตา

๒  
ขวัญเนตร

๒  
เจ้าขวัญตาพี่

๒  
ผู้ขวัญนัยเนตร เกษสุรางค์

๒  
ขวัญเมือง



Dālang

—

เจ้างาม

งามสอก

เจ้างามสอกยกคนวด

เจ้าพี่

โถมงาม

—

—

—

โถมเฉลาเจ้าผู้เฉลิมขวัญ

โถมเฉลาเขาวมาลย์

โถมเฉลาเขาวยอกพิสมัย

—

—

—

—

Inao

จอมขวัญเมือง

—

—

—

เจ้าพี่

โถมงาม

โถมงามทราวมวัย

โถมงามทราวมสงวน

โถมงามทราวมสวาท

—

—

—

โถมเฉลาเขาวเรศ

โถมเฉลาเขาวยอกยาใจ

โถมเฉลาเขาวยอกยุพาพาล

โถมเฉลาเขาวยอกเสนาหา

DālangInao

กวงตา

—

เจ้า<sup>๕</sup>กวง<sup>๕</sup>นัย<sup>๕</sup>นา<sup>๕</sup>ยา<sup>๕</sup>ใจ

—

ขวัญ<sup>๕</sup>นัย<sup>๕</sup>นา

—

กวง<sup>๕</sup>ใจกวง<sup>๕</sup>ใจ

—

กวง<sup>๕</sup>ฤ<sup>๕</sup>ทัยเจ้า<sup>๕</sup>กวง<sup>๕</sup>ใจเจ้า<sup>๕</sup>กวง<sup>๕</sup>ใจกวง<sup>๕</sup>ยิ<sup>๕</sup>หว่ากวง<sup>๕</sup>ยิ<sup>๕</sup>หว่าเจ้า<sup>๕</sup>กวง<sup>๕</sup>ยิ<sup>๕</sup>หว่าเจ้า<sup>๕</sup>กวง<sup>๕</sup>ยิ<sup>๕</sup>หว่าพุ่ม<sup>๕</sup>พวง<sup>๕</sup>กวง<sup>๕</sup>ใจ

—

—

พุ่ม<sup>๕</sup>พวง<sup>๕</sup>กวง<sup>๕</sup>ยิ<sup>๕</sup>หว่ากวง<sup>๕</sup>ใจ<sup>๕</sup>พื<sup>๕</sup>ยอก<sup>๕</sup>เส<sup>๕</sup>น<sup>๕</sup>หา

—

กวง<sup>๕</sup>ยิ<sup>๕</sup>หว่า<sup>๕</sup>พื<sup>๕</sup>

—

—

เจ้า<sup>๕</sup>กวง<sup>๕</sup>ยิ<sup>๕</sup>หว่า<sup>๕</sup>พื<sup>๕</sup>

—

กวง<sup>๕</sup>ยิ<sup>๕</sup>หว่า<sup>๕</sup>ยา<sup>๕</sup>จิต

—

กวง<sup>๕</sup>ยิ<sup>๕</sup>หว่า<sup>๕</sup>ยา<sup>๕</sup>ใจกวง<sup>๕</sup>ยิ<sup>๕</sup>หว่า<sup>๕</sup>โณ<sup>๕</sup>ม<sup>๕</sup>ส<sup>๕</sup>ว<sup>๕</sup>ร<sup>๕</sup>ร<sup>๕</sup>ก

—

Dālang

—

ยิหวาบังอร

ควงสมร

ควงสมรเสนาหา

ควงสวาท

ควงสุคา

ทราวมชม

ทราวมสวาท

ทราวมเขย

เจ้าทราวมเขย

ทราวมรัก

ทราวมสงวน

—

นวนดนอง

นุช

นางนุช

Inao

ยิหวา

—

ควงสมร

—

ควงสวาท

ควงสุคา

—

ทราวมสวาท

ทราวมเขย

เจ้าทราวมเขย

—

ทราวมสงวน

ทราวมสงวนนวนดนอง

นวนดนอง

นุช

—

DālangInao

นางลักษณะยาหยี

—

นวลละอองผู้ยอดพิสมัย

—

นารี

นารี

—

นางนารี

นีนวล

นีนวล

นีนวลผู้ยอดเสนาหา

นีนวลผู้ยอดเสนาหา

—

นีนวลบุพาพาล

นีน้อง

นีน้อง

น้องนางกุมารศรี

—

—

นีนื้อ

นีนื้อนวลระหง

—

เจ้านีนื้อเย็น

—

บุษนาถ

บุษนาถ

—

แนบนื้อ

—

บังอรเสนาหา

ปลื้มจิต

—

DālangInao

ปลื้มใจ

ปลื้มใจ

ปลื้มอาลัย

—

พินิตายาใจ

—

เจ้าพุ่มพวง

—

เจ้าพุ่มพวงดวงคอกกระมุหนึ่ง

—

พุ่มพวงดวงมาลัย

—

—

พุ่มพวงดวงสุภา

มารศรีผู้ยอดพิสมัย

—

มิ่งมารศรี

มิ่งมารศรี

มิ่งมารศรีเขาวมาลัย

—

มีศรี

—

ยอดพิสมัย

—

—

ยอดเสนาหา

ยอดสงสาร

—

ผู้ยอดสงสาร

—

บาใจ

บาใจ

Dālang

ยาหยี

—

—

—

บุญญาบุพผอกเสนาหา

เขาวงกตเสนาหา

เจ้าเขาวงกตนาวิ

—

เจ้าร่วมชีวิตสังสาร

ร่วมวัน

รอยขัง

รูปงาม

รูปรวบ

—

สายสมร

นางสายสมรมารศรี

Inao

ยาหยี

ยาหยีน้องนุช

ยุพเยาว์

ยุพเยาว์ยอดฟ้า

—

—

—

เขาวงกตพิสมัย

—

—

—

—

—

ศรีสมร

สายสมร

—

Dālang

—

นางสายสมรอรไท

สายสวาท

สุดสวาท

สายสุดสวาท

เจ้าสายสุดใจ

เจ้าสายสุดที่รัก

สาวสวรรค์

นางสาวสวรรค์

นางสาวสรศักดิ์

อุ้นเรือน

เจ้าอุ้นเรือน

เอวกลม

เอวบาง

Inao

สายสมรอรไท

—

สายสวาท

สุดสวาท

—

—

เจ้าสายสุดที่รัก

สาวสวรรค์

นางสาวสวรรค์

นางสาวสรศักดิ์

—

—

เอวกลม

—

e) The epithets placed after the names of female characters.

Referring to beauty and youthfulness:

Dālang

กัลยา

—

—

—

เจ็กฉั่น

โฉมฉาย

โฉมเฉลา

โฉมตรู

โฉมยง

โฉมศรี

โฉมสวรรค์

—

ดวงจันทร์

—

Inao

กัลยา

กัลยาณี

กัลยาชอกสงสาร

แจ่มจันทร์

เจ็กฉั่น

โฉมฉาย

โฉมเฉลา

โฉมตรู

โฉมยง

โฉมศรี

—

แจ่มชอยโฉมศรี

ดวงจันทร์

ทรงลักษณ์



Dalang

ทราวมวัย

นงคราญ

นงเยาว์

—

นวลระหง

นึ่งน้องนวลระหง

นึ่งเนื่อนวลระหง

นวลหงส์

แนงน้อยนวลหงส์

นวลละออง

นารี

นารีศรีใส

—

—

—

—

Inao

ทราวมวัย

นงคราญ

นงเยาว์

นงลักษณ์

—

—

—

นวลหงส์

แนงน้อยนวลหงส์

—

นารี

นารีศรีใส

นารีโสมนาย

นารีทองสมร

นารีวิไลลักษณ์

นารีสาวสรรค์

Dālang

นิรมล

—

แน่งน้อยมีศรี

—

—

บั้งอร

ประไพพัศตร

ผู้เจ็ดโฉมยง

ผู้เจ็ดโฉมศรี

—

เพราเพริศเจ็ดฉนั้น

—

มีลักขณาเลขา

มีศรี

ไข่มุก

ยอดสงสาร

Inao

นิรมล

แน่งน้อย

—

แน่งน้อยนวลศรี

แน่งน้อยนวลหงส์

บั้งอร

—

—

—

เพริศพราย

เพราเพริศเจ็ดฉนั้น

มารศรี

—

มีศรี

—

ยอดสงสาร

Dalang

เขาวยอกสงสาร

ยุพเยาว์

—

ยุพาพาด

ยุพาพิน

เขาวมาดย์

—

วิลาวัณย์

—

วิไลวรรณ

—

—

ศรีโสภา

โสภา

—

ศรีไส

Inao

เขาวยอกสงสาร

—

ยุพาพัศตร์

—

ยุพาพาด

—

เขาวมาดย์

ลาวรรณ

วิลาวัณย์

วิไลลักษณ์

วิไลวรรณ

ศรีสวัสดิ์

ศรีสวัสดิ์นวลหงส์

ศรีโสภา

โสภา

โสภานารี

ศรีไส

DālangInao

—

สาวศรี

—

สาวสวรรค์

สาวสวัสดิ์

—

Referring to dignity:

DālangInao

—

เทวี

—

นารีมีศักดิ์

มียศ

มียศ

มีศักดิ์

มีศักดิ์

—

มีศักดิ์เจ็ดชั้น

—

มีศักดิ์สูงส่ง

—

อรไท

Referring to a beloved one:

DālangInao

กลอยใจ

กลอยใจ

—

จอมขวัญ

ดวงใจ

—

ดวงมลาย

—

ดวงสมร

ดวงสมร

—

ดวงสวาท

—

ดวงสุภา

—

นวลสมร

—

ยาจิต

ยาใจ

ยาใจ

—

ยาหยี

—

ยาหยีศรีใส

—

ศรีสมร

สายสมร

สายสมร

เล่นหา

เล่นหา

Dālang

เขาว Yok Sen̄hā

เจ็ด โฉม Sen̄hā

—

—

แน่ง น้อย Sen̄hā

พิสมัย

เขาว Yok พิสมัย

—

Inao

เขาว Yok Sen̄hā

—

ทรง โฉม ประโลมขวัญ

ทรง โฉม Sen̄hā

แน่ง น้อย Sen̄hā

พิสมัย

เขาว Yok พิสมัย

โสภายาใจ

f) The epithets placed before the names of female characters.

Dālang

—

โฉม นาง

โฉม นวลนาง

—

—

ทรา มวัย

Inao

เจ้าจอมหม่อม

—

โฉม นวลนาง

โฉม ยง

โฉม ยง นงนุช

ทรา มวัย

Dālang

นงคราญ

—

นวลนาง

—

—

—

—

—

—

Inao

นงคราญ

นงนาฏ

—

นวลนางโฉมศรี

ยาหยี

เขาวมาลย์

อรไท

อัศวเรศ

เอกฉัตร

We also find some epithets placed on both sides of the names of female characters.

Dālang

—

—

—

—

—

Inao

โฉมศรี...ยาใจ

โฉมนาง...มารศรี

โฉมนาง...สาวศรี

โฉมยง...สาวสวรรค์

นวลนาง...โฉมเฉลา

DālangInao

—	นวดนาง...มารศรี
—	นวดนาง...สาวศรี
—	นวดนาง...สาวสวรรค์
—	ยาหยี...ลาวรรณ
วรรณ...ศรีใส	—
—	อรไท...บุพผพัศร์
เอือกองค์...กัทยา	—
เอือกองค์...มารศรี	—

For non-royal female characters, the epithets used are as follows:

DālangInao

นารี	นารี
—	ร่วมใจ, ร่วมชีวา
สาวสวรรค์	สาวสวรรค์, นางสาวสวรรค์
—	สาวสวรรค์กัทยา
สาวศรี	สาวศรี
—	อักษณาสัย, ผู้มีอักษณาสัย



g) The epithets used for both male and female characters.

Dālang

กลอยใจ

แหวตะ

ขนิษฐา

ขวัญตา

ขวัญข้าว

ใครจะรู้

เด็กนั้น

เพราเพริศเด็กนั้น

เด็กนาย

โคมนาย

โคมเงลา

โคมตรู

โคมยง

โคมศรี

ผู้เจ็ดโคมศรี

Inao

กลอยใจ

แหวตะ

ขนิษฐา

ขวัญตา

ขวัญข้าว

—

เด็กนั้น

เพราเพริศเด็กนั้น

เด็กนาย

โคมนาย

โคมเงลา

โคมตรู

โคมยง

โคมศรี

—

Dǎlang

ดวงตา , ดวงเนตร

ดวงใจ

—

—

ทราวมเขย

บุชนาญ

บ้งอร

พิสมัย

มียศ

ผู้มียศ

มีศักดิ์

มีศรี

ไม่มีคู่

ยอดพิสมัย

ยอดสงสาร

ยาใจ

Inao

—

ดวงใจ

ดวงฤทัย

ดวงยิหวายาใจ

ทราวมเขย

บุชนาญ

บ้งอร

พิสมัย

มียศ

ผู้มียศ

มีศักดิ์

มีศรี

—

ยอดพิสมัย

ยอดสงสาร

ยาใจ

Dālang

—

มูฟเบาว

—

เบาเวศ

—

วิลาวณย์

—

ศรีไส

สายสมร

สายสวาท

สายสุกสวาท

เสันทา

—

—

—

—

Inao

บาหยี่

—

เบาญพา

เบาเวศ

ลาวรรณ

วิลาวณย์

วิลัดักณ

ศรีไส

สายสมร

สายสวาท

—

เสันทา

ฉันทาลัย

ผู้มีฉันทาลัย

ทรงฉันท

ร่วมใจ , ร่วมชีวา

## APPENDIX V

The Malay-Javanese terms used in Dālang and Inao.

<u>The terms used in both poems.</u>	<u>English translation.</u>	<u>Malay equivalent.</u>
กระยาหงัน	heavenly palace, heaven.	kěyangan
กริช	kris	kěris
กะกำ	older brother	kakang (J.)
กระตะ	spur a horse	gěrtak
กิดาหยัน	royal page	kědayan (J.)
ภูมู่ง	mountain	gunong (J.)
ผ้าโเบ	sash, scarf	sabok (J.)
ดาหยัง	make war, frighten the enemy	tayang
คันทรง	a fragrant flower, Mimusops elengi (Sapotaceae)	bunga tanjong
ตุนาหงัน	to become engaged to be married	tunangan (J.)
ตุหลาปาปา	calamity, evil	tulah papa
บุหงา	flower	bunga
บุหงาปะกัน	jasmine, Jasminum auriculatum (Oleaceae)	bungapěkan

The terms used  
in both poems.English translation.Malay equivalent.

บุหงารำไป

scented flower-  
petals enclosed in  
small fancy lace bags

bunga rampai

บุหร่ง

bird, peacock

burong

บุหลัน

moon

bulan

แบหลา

to die,  
self-immolation of a  
widow on her husband's  
funeral pyre

bela

ปะคาปา

to practise religious  
austerities, to become  
an ascetic

ปะหนัน

Pandanus tectorius  
(Pandanaceae)

pandan

บันจุเหร็จ

robber

pěrajurit (J.)

ปั้นเหน่ง

belt, waistbuckle

pending

ปาปะอะหียี

royal father

bapa aji

พันตุ

to fight against

bentok (J.)

มะงุมมะงาหรา

to wander about

เมาะตาริยะกั๊ด

incomparable in  
power

ยาหยี

dear sister or  
dear brother, a term  
of endearment

yayi (J.)

ยิหาวา

the heart, a term  
of endearment

jiwa

<u>The terms used in both poems.</u>	<u>English translation.</u>	<u>Malay equivalent.</u>
ระเด่น	prince, princess	radin
ระตู	ruler of a minor state, king of a non-divine race	ratu
ราชา	king	raja
ลำบู	a term representing a person of low-degree	lambu
ว้าง	to perform a shadow- play	wayang
วิเณ	eunuch	
ศรีปัทมรา	holy ruler	Sri Bětara
สะตาทัน	a flower garden	sa taman
สูงปะติเเหงะ สูงปะติเเหงะ	hermit	sang petinggi
สำหรับ	pretty, flower	sari
อสูรเคหา อสูรหยา	a god	
อะนะ อะนะ	child, children	anak
อุหรับ	a perfumed cosmetic	urap-urap
แอดนัง	a nun	indang

<u>The terms used in Dālang but not in Inao.</u>	<u>English translation.</u>	<u>Malay equivalent.</u>
การะมูหนิง	the China box-tree flower, <i>Murraya exotica</i> (Rutaceae)	
กาหลัง	shadow-play performer	dalang
บุตรีกระสุ่ม บุตรีกระสุ่ม	<i>Clerodendron fragrans</i> (Verbenaceae)	
บุหงากันตรู	greenish white, scented flower, <i>Micromelum minutum</i> (Rutaceae)	
บุหงามาหลอ	Melati, jasmine	bunga mēlor
บุหงาอังสนา	yellowish, sweet- scented flower, <i>Pterocarpus camboe- dianus</i> (Leguminosae)	bunga angsēna
บุหงาอังสอกา	the asoka flower, <i>Saraca indica</i> (Leguminosae)	bunga angsoka
รูสา	deer	rusa
ลิป่าง	centipede	lipan
อ้าโมะ	strolling dancer	
อินุสุหรี	royal mother	Ibu suri

The terms used  
in Inao but not  
in Dālang.

English translation.

Malay equivalent.

กะละหนา

rover, one of low-  
degree

kělana

กะหมั้นทรา

servant

gěmbala

กะหลาป่า<sup>†</sup>

used after a noun,  
signifying a product  
from Djakarta

kělapa

บิคุ

Buddhist monk

biku

ประมาทนา

Brahmin

Běrmāna

ประหมั้น

maternal uncle

paman (J.)

สมัน

servant

sěmang

อุสหงัน

palanquin

usongan



## B I B L I O G R A P H Y

## Unpublished Material in Thai

Mahinthra Sakdi Thamrong, Čhao Phrayā. Dālang. (The Phra-ong Čhao Čhuthārat Rācha Kumārī manuscript, Bangkok).

Nikorn Kān Prakit, Khun (trans.). Phongsāwadān Čhawā Ru'ang Inao (the Ari Nagara version). Bangkok, 1918-1919.

Nilprapassorn, Khomkhai. Bot Lakhōn Ram Pen Wannakhadī Rū' Mai. (M.A. thesis, Faculty of Arts, Chulalongkorn University, Bangkok, 1953-1954).

Rama I, King. Dālang. (The Somdet Phra Racha Pitulā manuscript, Bangkok).

\_\_\_\_\_. Dālang. (The manuscript copied by Khun Rāchasāt, Bangkok).

\_\_\_\_\_. Inao. (The Nakhōn Sīthamarāt manuscript, Bangkok).

Rama II, King. Inao. (The Čhao Čhōm Sombun manuscript, Bangkok).

\_\_\_\_\_. Inao. (The manuscript copied by Nai Taeng, Bangkok).

\_\_\_\_\_. Inao. (The manuscript copied by Phra Nimit Aksōn, Bangkok, 1925).

\_\_\_\_\_. Inao, Book 4. (The India Office Library manuscript, London).

\_\_\_\_\_. Inao, Book 6. (The Royal Asiatic Society manuscript, London).

## Published Manuscripts

Rama I, King. Dālang. Bangkok, 1890.

\_\_\_\_\_. Dālang. Bangkok, 1956.

- \_\_\_\_\_. Inao. Bangkok, 1917.
- Rama II, King. Inao. Bangkok, 1874.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Inao. Bangkok, 1921.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Inao. Bangkok, 1949.

### Books in Thai

- Anuman Rajadhon, Phraya. Fū'n Khwām Lang. Bangkok, 1965.
- Bōrān Rācha Thānin, Phrayā. Athibāi Phaenthī Phra Nakhōn Sī Ayuthaya Kap Kham Winitchai Khōng Phrayā Bōrān Rācha Thānin. Bangkok, 1926.
- Bot Dōk Sōi Sawan Khrang Krung Kao. Bangkok, 1938.
- Bot Klōn Phū'n Mu'ang Klōm Dek. Bangkok, 1922.
- Bot Lakhōn Khrang Krung Kao Ru'ang Nāng Manōrā Kap Sang-thōng. Bangkok, 1919.
- Bot Sakrawā Ru'ang Inao. Bangkok, 1919.
- Banthu'k Samākhom Wannakhadī. Vol. II. Bangkok, 1931.
- Damrong Rajanubhab, H.R.H. Prince. Tamnān Ru'ang Lakhōn Inao. Bangkok, 1921.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Tamnān Wang Nā. Bangkok, 1925.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Tamrā Fōn Ram. Bangkok, 1923.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Thiao Mu'ang Phamā. Bangkok, 1948.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Prachum Bot Mahōrī Lae Athibāi Tamnān Mahōrī. Bangkok, 1928.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Ru'ang Phra Rāchānukit. Bangkok, 1946.

Damrong Rajanubhab, H.R.H. Prince, and Narisaranuvattivong, H.R.H. Prince. Sān Somdet. Bangkok, 1951.

Dhani Nivat, H.H. Prince. Prawat Thāo Wōraċhan Lae Wiċhān Ru'ang Khaomūn Nithān Inao Khōng Thai. Bangkok, 1941.

Department of Thai, Triam Udom Su'ksa School. Prawat Wanna-khadi Thai. Bangkok, 1951.

Horathibodi, Phra. Chindāmanī. Bangkok, 1959.

Khlong Sansoen Phra Kiat Phra Bāt Somdet Phra Phuttha Yōt Fā Chulā Lōk. Bangkok, 1927.

Khun Chāng Khun Phaen. Bangkok, 1949.

Kotmāi, Vol. II. Bangkok, 1902.

Latthi Thamniam Phāk Thī 25 Wā Duai Kān Len Phlēng. Bangkok, 1936.

Lilit Phra Lō. Bangkok, 1948.

Lithai, Phaya. Trai Phūmi Kathā. Bangkok, 1952.

Malakul, Devadhiraj P., and Dhanapradit, S. Rāchūpaphōk Lae Phra Rācha Thān. Bangkok, 1960.

Mahā Rācha Khrū, Phra; Nārāi, King; and Paramanujit, H.R.H. Prince. Samuthakhōt Kham Chan. Bangkok, 1925.

Maha Sakdi Phonlasep, H.R.H. Prince. Phra Lō Nōralak. Bangkok, 1921.

Nakhon Sawan Woraphinit, H.R.H. Prince (trans.). Inao (Panji Semirang). Bangkok, 1950.

Na Mu'ang Tai, Tamra, Nai (Plu'ang Na Nakhon). Prawat Wanna-khadi Thai Samrap Nak Su'ksā. Bangkok, 1953.

Na Pramuanmak, P. Sip Kawī. Bangkok, 1955.

- Narissaranuvattivong, H.R.H. Prince. Banthu'k Ru'ang Khwāmru Tāng Tāng. Bangkok, 1963.
- Ngān Sangkhītasin Khōng Krom Silpakorn 1949-51. Bangkok, 1951.
- Pavaresariyalongkorn, H.R.H. Prince, and Others. Thēsana Phra Rācha Prawat Lae Phongsāwadān Krung Thēp. Bangkok, 1938.
- Phetchabun Inthrachai, H.R.H. Prince. Sōngkōn Wōrawik, Chantha Kinnarī, Phra Yotsakēt. Bangkok, 1923.
- Phra Maha Nak, Bunnōwāt Kham Chan. Bangkok, 1917.
- Phra Rācha Phongsāwadān Krung Kao, Bangkok, 1863.
- Phra Rācha Phongsāwadān Krung Ratanakosin Chabap Čhao Phrayā Thiphākarakawong. Bangkok, 1935.
- Prachum Bot Lakhōn Du'kdamban Chabap Bōribūn. Bangkok, 1943.
- Prachum Bot Mahōrī. Bangkok, 1920.
- Prachum Phlēngyāo Khwām Kao. Part 5. Bangkok, 1924.
- Prachum Phlēngyāo Khwām Kao. Part 7. Bangkok, 1924.
- Prachum Phongsāwadān Chabap Hō Phra Samut Haeng Chāt. Vol. IV. Part 8. Bangkok, 1964.
- Prachum Phongsāwadān. Parts 25-26. Bangkok, 1922.
- Prachum Phongsāwadān. Part 29. Bangkok, 1938.
- Prachum Phra Rācha Phongsāwadān Chabap Phra Rācha Hattha Lēkhā. Vol. II. Part 1. Bangkok, 1952.
- Prachum Silā Čhāru'k. Part 1. Bangkok, 1924.
- Rabiap Tamnān Lakhōn Len Thawāi Tua Thī Wang Wōradit. Bangkok, 1922.

Rama I, King. Rāmakien. Bangkok, 1949.

\_\_\_\_\_. Unarut. Bangkok, 1920.

Rama II, King. Bot Lakhōn Nōk Ruam Hā Ru'ang. Bangkok, 1954.

\_\_\_\_\_. Rāmakien. Bangkok, 1956.

\_\_\_\_\_. Sangthōng. Bangkok, 1957.

Rama IV, King. Rāmakien. Bangkok, 1921.

\_\_\_\_\_. Prachum Phra Rācha Nippon Phāk Pakinnaka. Part 1. Bangkok, 1950.

Rama V, King. Bot Čhēračhā Lakhōn Inao. Bangkok, 1921.

\_\_\_\_\_. Ngoh Pā. Bangkok, 1949.

\_\_\_\_\_. Phra Rācha Wičhan Duai Ru'ang Čhotmāihēt Khwām Songcham Khōng Kromaluang Narinthrathēwī. Bangkok, 1916.

\_\_\_\_\_. Raya Thāng Thiao Chawā Kwā Sōng Du'an. Bangkok, 1925.

Satavethin, Chu'a. Tamrap Wannakhadī. Bangkok, 1962.

\_\_\_\_\_. Prawat Wannakhadī. Bangkok, 1959.

Si Prat. Anirut Kham Chan. Bangkok, 1924.

\_\_\_\_\_. Kamsuan Khlōng Dan. Bangkok, 1925.

Sommot Amaraphan, H.R.H. Prince. Prakāt Phra Rācha Phithī. Bangkok, 1916.

Suan, Nai. Khlōng Yō Phra Kiat Phra Čhao Krung Thonburi. Bangkok, 1922.

Sunthōn Phū. Phra Aphaimanī. Bangkok, 1924.

Tāksin, King. Rāmakien. Bangkok, 1941.

Tamrā Phichai Songkhrām Kham Klōn. Bangkok, 1930.

The Decrees of King Mongkut. Bangkok, 1922.

Tramot, Montri. Kān Lalen Khōng Thai. Bangkok, 1954.

Trang, Phraya. Khlong Dan Chaloem Phra Kiat Phra Bāt Somdet Phra Phuttha Loet Lā Naphalai. Bangkok, 1924.

Varaved Bisith, Phra. Wannakhadī Thai. Bangkok, 1959.

Yaowarāt, Phra, and Others. Thawāthotsamāt. Bangkok, 1959.

Yuan Phāi. Bangkok, 1958.

Yupho, Dhanit. Athibāi Nāttasin Thai. Bangkok, 1951.

\_\_\_\_\_. Khlet Lap Nai Kān Sadaeng Lakhōn Du'kdamban. Bangkok, 1947.

\_\_\_\_\_. Khōn Phāk Ton - Wā Duai Tamnān Lāe Thrisadī. Bangkok, 1953.

\_\_\_\_\_. Phithī Wai Khrū - Tamrā Khrōp Khōn Lakhōn e Tamnān Lāe Kham Klōn Wai Khrū Lakhōn Chātrī. Bangkok, 1951.

\_\_\_\_\_. Prachum Ngān Khonkhwā Phāk Wannakhadī. Bangkok, 1944.

\_\_\_\_\_. Pralēng Rabēng Mongkhrum Lāe Thoetthoeng. Bangkok, 1952.

\_\_\_\_\_. Sinlapin Haeng Lakhōn Thai. Bangkok, 1954.

\_\_\_\_\_. Somdet Phra Nārāi Mahārāt Lāe Nak Prāt Rācha Kawī Nai Racha Samai. Bangkok, 1957.

## Books in Western Languages

A.P. Gen. R.S.S. (trans.). A New Historical Relation of the Kingdom of Siam. London 1693.

Basham, A.L. The Wonder that was India. London, 1956.

Bastian, Adolf. Die Voelker des Oestlichen Asien. Vol. IV. Jena, 1868.

Chen Duriyanga, Phra. Thai Music. Bangkok, 1953.

Cuisinier, Jeanne. Danses magiques de Kelantan. Paris, 1936.

De la Loubère, Simon. Du royaume de Siam. Veuve de Jean Baptiste Coignard et Jean Baptiste Coignard. 1691.  
- A New Historical Relation of the Kingdom of Siam. . . Done out of French by A.P. Gen. R.S.S. London, 1693.

De Zoete, Beryl and Spies, Walter. Dance and Drama in Bali. London, 1938.

Gerini, Gerolamo Emilio. A Retrospective View and Account of the Origin of the Thet Maha Cha't ceremony. (Maha Jati Desana) or Exposition of the Tale of the Great Birth as Performed in Siam. Bangkok, 1892.

\_\_\_\_\_. Chulakantamangala. Bangkok, 1895.

Gervaise, Nicolas. L'histoire naturelle et politique du royaume de Siam. Paris, 1688. - The Natural and Political History of the Kingdom of Siam, trans. Herbert Stanley O'Neill. Bangkok, 1928.

Harvey, G.E. History of Burma. London, 1925.

Hooykaas, C. From Lënka to Ayodhyā by Puspaka being the Old-Javanese Rāmāyana Sarga XXV Mainly. Bijdragen tot de taal-, land- en volkenkunde, 114, 1958.

Htin Aung, Maung. Burmese Drama. London, 1937.



- Moura, Jean. Le royaume de Cambodge. Tome II. Paris, 1883.
- O'Neill, Herbert Stanley (trans.). The Natural and Political History of the Kingdom of Siam. Bangkok, 1928.
- Pallegoix, Jean Baptiste. Description du royaume Thai ou Siam. Tome I. Paris, 1854.
- Poerbatjaraka, R.M.Ng. Pandji-Verhalen Onderling Vergelehen. Bandoeng, 1940.
- Quaritch-Wales, Horace G. Ancient South-East Asian Warfare. London, 1952.
- Simmonds, Edward Harold Stuart. Siamese Dawn Poetry. in Eos: An Enquiry into the Theme of Lovers' Meetings and Partings at Dawn in Poetry. ed. Arthur T. Hatto. The Hague, 1965.
- Smith, M. A Physician at the Court of Siam. London, 1947.
- Smith, Samuel J. (trans.). History of Siam, Reign of H.M. Somdetch P'ra Narai. Bangkok, 1880.
- Wenk, Klaus. Thailandische Miniaturmalereien. Wiesbaden, 1965.
- Young, E. The Kingdom of the Yellow Robe. Bangkok, 1900.

#### Article in Thai

- Damrong Rajanubhab, H.R.H. Prince. "Ru'ang Wičhān Hē Chā Lūk Luang", Journal of the Siam Society, Vol. II, 1942.

#### Articles in Western Languages

- Bidyalankarana, H.H. Prince. "The Pastime of Rhyme-Making and Singing in Rural Siam", Journal of the Siam Society, Vol. XX, 1927.

Coedès, Georges. "Origine et évolution des diverses formes du théâtre traditionnel en Thaïlande", Bulletin de Société des Études Indo-Chinoise, Vol. XXXVIII, 1963.

Dhani Nivat, H.H. Prince. "Siamese Versions of the Panji Romance", India Antiqua, Leiden, 1947.

\_\_\_\_\_. The Chatri, Journal of the Siam Society, Vol. XXXII, Part 1, 1940.

\_\_\_\_\_. The Dālang, Journal of the Siam Society, Vol. XLIII, 1955-1956.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Traditional Dresses in the Classical Dance of Siam", Journal of the Siam Society, Vol. XL, Part 2, 1952.

Koenig, J.G. "Voyage from India to Siam and Malacca" (English translation of his Danish-German MS), Journal Straits Branch of Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. XXVI, 1894.

Marchal, H. "Céramonies de l'incinération de S.M. Sisowath", Bulletin de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient, Vol. XXVIII, 1928.

Nicolas, René. "Le lakhon nora ou lakhon chatri et les origines du théâtre classique siamois", Journal of the Siam Society, Vol. XVIII, 1924.

Simmonds, Edward Harold Stuart. "New Evidence on Thai Shadow-Play Invocation", reprinted from the Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, Vol. XXIV, Part 3, 1961.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Epic Romance Poetry in Thailand", Sangkhomasāt Parithat (the Social Science Review), Vol. I, Part 2, 1963.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Thai Narrative Poetry: Palace and Provincial Texts of an Episode from Khun Chang Khun Phaen", Asia Major, Vol. X, Part 2, 1963.

Thien, Nai (trans.). "Burmese Invasions of Siam", Journal of the Siam Society, Vol. V, Part 1, 1959.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Intercourse Between Burma and Siam, As Recorded in Hmannan Yazawin Dawgyi", Journal of the Siam Society, 1959.

Winstedt, Sir Richard. "A Panji Tale from Kelantan", Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. XXII, Part 1, 1949.